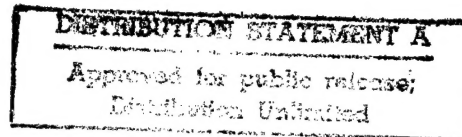


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11 April 1984



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Yugoslav Weekly Discusses 'Sojuz 84' Participation, Aims
(Miroslav Lazanski; DANAS, 28 Feb 84) 1

ALBANIA

- Dailies Comment on Greek National Day
(ATA, 24 Mar 84) 6

BULGARIA

- Certain Aspects of Low Birth Rate Analyzed
(Vladimir Ardenski, Khristo Stanev; OTECHESTVO, No 3,
14 Feb 84) 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Bratislava PRAVDA Reviews Ponomarev's Book
(Boris Ponomarev; PRAVDA, 16 Mar 83) 16

- Fojtik Praises Leninism, Attacks Eurocommunism
(Jan Fojtik; TRIBUNA, No 6, 8 Feb 84) 17

- Strougal Report to Assembly Session
(CTK, 21 Mar 84) 25

- Electromagnetically Propelled Projectiles Viewed
(Martin Tucka, Jaroslav Nemec; ZAPISNIK, No 3, 1984) 28

- Briefs
Soviet Missile Deployment Protested 32

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Report on New Spanish CP
(Juergen Sehler; HORIZONT, No 3, 1984) 33

Results of T-72 Gunnery, Driving Competition Reported (Manfred Vogt; VOLKSARMEE, No 51, 1983)	36
HUNGARY	
NEPSZABADSAG Berates Dissident Konrad as Herder Prize Recipient (NEPSZABADSAG, 18 Feb 84)	40
NEUE ZUERICHER Notes NEPSZABADSAG Attack on Dissident Konrad (NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, 3 Mar 84)	42
POLAND	
Walesa's Effect on U.S. Policy Ridiculed (Wlodzimierz Zralek; TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Jan 84)	44
Results of Zielona Gora Province Reports-Elections Conference (GAZETA LUBUSKA, 20, 21 Dec 83)	46
Account of Proceedings First Secretary's Speech, by Jerzy Dabrowski Conclusion, Executive Board	
Politicians, Journalists Debate Accomplishments (Wieslaw Bek, et al.; TU I TERAZ, No 3, 18 Jan 84)	60
Results of Szczecin Provincial Reports-Elections Conference Reported (KURIER SZCZECINSKI, 23 Jan 84)	68
Results of Rzeszow Province Reports-Elections Conference Reported (NOWINY, 25 Jan 84)	72
Account of Proceedings First Secretary's Speech Speech by Mokrzysszczak	
Results of Chelm Provincial Reports-Elections Conference (SZTANDAR LUDU, 30 Jan 84)	84
Account of Proceedings Executive Board Report	
Hopes, Aspirations of Youth Studied (Ewa Wilk; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, No 26, 31 Jan 84)	90
ROMANIA	
Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Manescu, Ceausescu Message (AGERPRES, 25 Mar 84)	95

Ceausescu Receives Tanzanian Envoy's Credentials (AGERPRES, 23 Mar 84)	96
Current Concerns in Education of Young Physicists Discussed (Iancu Iova Interview; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 9 Feb 84)	97
Briefs	
Summer Time Begins 25 March	100

YUGOSLAVIA

Western Report on East European Refugees in Yugoslavia (Larry Gerber; INFORMATION MANDAG, 13 Feb 84)	101
Bilandzic Reviews LCY Program, Notes Need for Amendments (Dusan Bilandzic; SOCIJALIZAM, No 12, Dec 83)	103
Attitudes on Fire in Painter's Studio Cause Bickering (Various sources, various dates)	119
Jeering in Youth Paper, by Gradimir Aleksic	
Youth Paper Rebuked, by Dragan Jovanovic	
Rebuker Rebuked	

YUGOSLAV WEEKLY DISCUSSES 'SOJUZ 84' PARTICIPATION, AIMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 84 pp 28-31

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Warsaw Pact Maneuvers: How To Reach the Bosphorus"]

[Text] Europe is currently the scene of large military exercises by NATO and the Warsaw Pact. While the Western allies are carrying out maneuvers on the North Sea, it has been officially announced in Moscow that joint command-staff army and navy exercises will be held in March in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the southwest portions of the Soviet Union and the Black Sea. What wartime scenario will be played out, where will the main thrust be directed? After all, it is only 140 km from the Bulgarian border to the Bosphorus.

Flat and open except for the low hills on the Black Sea and on the Gallipoli Peninsula in the Dardanelles, eastern or Turkish Thrace makes a good corridor for a thrust by tanks. Two years ago, in the STIT-82 [SHIELD 82] maneuvers, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact established bridgeheads in the Bulgarian ports Varna and Burgas, and a "sea bridge" was established between Odessa and Varna. Military units were concentrated in the area of Sliven, in the eastern portion of the Balkans, and there was an inspection of mobilization of reserve Bulgarian troops. But that was 2 years ago, the question concerns the present conception of the maneuvers. The name given to these maneuvers of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact is "Sojuz 84." So that there would be no confusion about the place where the scheduled exercises would be held, a confirmation soon came in from Bucharest that the zone of the maneuvers would extend even to Romanian territory....

At this point it is still not known whether there will be any innovations in doctrine and concept in these maneuvers of the Eastern allies. The main new thing is still that after some 10 years Romania will for the first time take part in the joint exercises of the East. After all, up to now the Romanians have usually sent only officer-observers, but this time the maneuvers, judging by the communique, are supposed to encompass even their territory. Some Western observers have already commented on this piece of news: "Romania has been having internal difficulties, and this is a slow return to the firmer protection of the Warsaw Pact." Does this coincide with the well-known Romanian views concerning Euromissiles?

While in the case of the exercises to practice a possible Soviet thrust to the Bosphorus across Romania and Bulgaria, the Turks (and then NATO as well) would be left a certain time for "strategic warning," a possible landing operation of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet, which in 1 night could transport amphibious troops from the Crimea to the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, would create great problems for the Turkish 1st Army, which is the best-armed grouping in all the four Turkish corps. The narrowed space north of the Sea of Marmara, with the shallow defensive depth, might incline NATO, in accordance with the doctrine of "flexible response," to use nuclear weapons first precisely here, perhaps even before anywhere else in all of Europe.

How urgent today is the historical and strategic challenge to the Soviets to run around the European southern flank and open up a sea route to the Middle East? Seven mechanized infantry divisions, one tank and one artillery division and the 102d Airborne Landing Guards Division are stationed in the Odessa Military District (the Soviet Union's 6th Military District: commander Col Gen I. M. Voloshin, his deputy Lt Col Gen A. I. Kirilov, and chief of the Political Division Lt Col Gen P. V. Fomitsev). The Warsaw Pact must keep almost half of the some 20 Romanian and Bulgarian armored and infantry divisions on the western shore of the Black Sea as a fighting force that can always be counted on. There are four Turkish corps, the 2d, the 5th, the 3d and the 15th, opposite them in a rather narrow band. Although several of Turkey's six independent armored brigades equipped with M-48 tanks are certainly stationed here as well, the Warsaw Pact has superiority in this area both in men and also with respect to the quantity and quality of armament.

The southern grouping of the Warsaw Pact possesses about 2,000 modern warplanes (the MIG-21, MIG-23 and MIG-25, the Su-17, and the Badger, Blinder and Backfire bombers), while NATO has in this district about 1,500 planes, 1,000 of them with technology dating from the fifties. "The main problem is not so much the number as the better quality of the airplanes on the southern flank of the Warsaw Pact," Maj Gen Bill V. Brown, chief of the joint staff of the air forces of the southern flank of NATO, recently said.

Together with the Hungarian, Bulgarian and Romanian troops, the Soviet Union has 62 divisions on the southern flank, while NATO can activate 41 divisions. The situation is improved somewhat for the West by the better relationship in naval strength, since if the American 6th Fleet is counted, NATO has in the eastern Mediterranean two aircraft carriers, five cruisers, 70 destroyers and frigates, 25 landing ships and 37 submarines. The Soviet Mediterranean squadron is still weaker.

A Drop on a Hot Stone

The troops of the Warsaw Pact would probably break through with a strong offensive strike to the Maritsa River, which marks the Greek-Turkish border in the east. That would put the burden of defense of the peninsula exclusively on the Turkish Army, since the Greeks, according to plans, would have to retreat westward to Aegean Macedonia. Under those conditions the Turks could not expect much help from the allies, since even if some amphibious unit of American Marines attempted to disembark in Thrace, there is no precise plan

for the coordinated action of allied ground troops in that area. How much the American 6th Fleet could help the ground troops and broaden its protection to the Bosphorus depends both on the Soviet Naval Air Force and the Back-fire bomber from air bases in the Crimea.

After a lengthy period of time the Warsaw Pact for the first time practiced an attack on the Bosphorus in the STIT-82 maneuvers. Those exercises, conceived as an attack toward the south, were closely monitored in the main headquarters of NATO for the southeast, at Izmir, to which the 6th Allied Tactical Air Fleet also belongs. It turned out that the threat to the Bosphorus is not merely theoretical. But there is yet another "threatened" district of Turkey: the eastern border with the Soviet Union, which is about 610 km long. Ten Soviet divisions, whose combat readiness has in recent years been essentially increased because of the Iraqi-Iranian war and the situation in Afghanistan, are based in the Transcaucasus alone. The 4th Soviet Airborne Landing Guard Division is stationed in Kirovabad so that--even assuming occasional rotation of the forces in the Hindu Kush--two of the seven large Soviet combat formations, to which we should also add one airborne landing unit, that is, regiment, from Bulgaria and Romania, can be spotted only in the direction of Turkey.

The Transcaucasian divisions might attack from their peacetime garrisons and penetrate the terrain of northeastern Anatolia, south of Batumi, between Artvin and Kars, which are guarded by the VIII and IX Corps of the Turkish 3d Army. In an area 100 to 50 km east of Kars, a district which before the October Revolution belonged to tsarist Russia and which Stalin sought in vain after World War II, such an attack would not encounter any major natural obstacles. Nevertheless, the numerically and technically inferior defender sees his opportunity in the labyrinth of hills, with the countless narrow passes and obstacles which offer the possibility of a lengthy struggle.

By contrast with Thrace, where the Black Sea straits seem still more threatened because of the weak defense and shallow depth of the rear on the land side, the spaciousness and topography of eastern Anatolia and of Turkey in Asia might allow an exchange of territory for a gain in time in defensive operations as nowhere else in the NATO area.

This would make the distance of 1,700 km between Edirne and Kars an advantage, but there still remain large logistical problems. Even in the future the Turkish Armed Forces will not be able to resolve them entirely. This is the greatest weakness of the Turkish Army, one which in fact was demonstrated to the world in the extremely trouble-ridden invasion of Cyprus. It is symptomatic that the combined operational command of air and ground forces is located 20 km from Izmir, in the extreme west of Turkey.

On the other hand no other NATO army has such outdated military materiel from the fifties as is the case with the Turkish Army, whose 569,000 men are physically well-conditioned and motivated and individually have sound training.

Modernization of the outdated military equipment, in spite of the Byzantine secrecy when it comes to national defense, is the principal concern of the

Turkish Armed Forces; in this priority for the ground forces is being given to M-48 tanks with diesel engines and 105-mm cannons. However, over the medium term only half of the existing tanks would receive an extremely superficial modernization, bringing them to the level of a German rear brigade. The M-48A5 tanks, modernized in the arsenals at Izmir, with crews which have gone through excellent training in the school at Etimesgut, west of Ankara, can hardly hold their own with the Soviet T-64 and T-72 tanks. To be sure, the Turks will be getting new shipments of Leopard tanks, aside from the 77 Leopard 1A3's which the Bundeswehr gave to them earlier. But in the present lineup of forces on the southern flank, this is only a drop on a hot stone.

The Turks Are Flirting

Recently the Bulgarian press carried the charge that Balkan security is threatened by the air base which NATO is building at Corlu in Turkey, 135 km from the Bulgarian border. The base, whose construction is costing \$16.3 million, will have a runway 3 km long and will be completed in 18 months. Bulgarian sources say that airplanes with the AWACS early radar detection system will also be stationed at that base, as well as at the Konya air support point. At the same time, at the other end of Turkey, the Americans are just finishing another base in which \$100 million have been invested. The air base at Mus is 240 km from the Soviet-Iranian border, 880 km from Baghdad and 1,120 km from the Iranian petroleum refineries. The aircraft that would take off from that airfield could reach the entire area of the Caucasus without refueling. The base at Mus is also very important because of the possible use of American and NATO forces for rapid intervention in the area of the Middle East. But the generals in the Pentagon and in Ankara say that the Soviet Union now possesses 150 airfields "which directly threaten Turkey" and that this year it has "appreciably strengthened military forces on the border with that country." That is why NATO has begun accelerated modernization of 10 airfields in Turkey, especially the air bases at Erzurum and Batman, and the Kristopolis base in Greece will also be expanded. On Greek territory, at the Nea Macri base and on Parnassus Hill near Athens, NATO will also set up new radar devices to guide the AWACS planes as well as for electronic espionage. A very powerful computerized long-range radar, which will even have the role of "disorienter," and will also be directly connected to the electronic espionage center of the American intelligence service, will be installed separately at Nea Macri.

These are all new problems and challenges for the Warsaw Pact, that is, for the Soviets. The possible installation of American cruise missiles in Turkey, which the Pentagon and the Turkish generals have been discretely flirting with for a long time now, is another unknown. Should the Americans give the Turks those missiles in the near future, that is, if Ankara should accept them, this could upset the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean. Back several months ago the Pentagon proposed to the administration that it increase the number of cruise missiles on European soil. The aim is clear--to create as many problems as possible for the Soviets. That is indeed why Ankara was contacted, but at that time it refused the American proposal. But time has passed, the Americans have renewed the offer, and the Turks are now wavering. They would probably accept the cruise missiles provided that a way

is found of eliminating the harmful consequences which such a move would have for Turkey. The Pentagon is insisting on entirely free military aid to Turkey if it accepts the installation of cruise missiles on its soil, but it is also pushing for the sale of F-16 fighter-bombers to the Turkish Air Force.

Identical Doctrine

The large-scale maneuvers of Warsaw Pact forces on the southern flank of that alliance will also undoubtedly bring together the military establishment of the eastern bloc. Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the joint forces, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of the Warsaw Pact General Staff, are expected to come. They will be joined by Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the Warsaw Pact with the Bulgarian Army. Since the navies of Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union are also taking part in the exercises, the arrival of an admiral from the staff of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet (commander Admiral N. I. Kovrin, his deputy Vice Adm V. A. Samoylov, and chief of the Political Division Vice Adm P. N. Medvedev and chief of staff V. I. Akimov) is also anticipated.

It is not yet known who will command the maneuvers, but that is not even so important when one realizes that the tactics and war doctrine in the armies of the Warsaw Pact are entirely identical with Soviet military doctrine. The Bulgarian generals put particular emphasis on this, and indeed it was the honor of the Bulgarian minister of defense, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, to command the last exercises, STIT-82. Then the emphasis was on rapid execution of maneuvers, in which airborne landing units had the most important role.

The present Soviet airborne landing forces consist of eight divisions, which are a separate arm of the armed forces and are directly subordinate to the general staff. That Soviet "winged infantry" is armed with light tanks, armored personnel carriers, self-propelled guns and multiple-barreled rocket launchers. Every Soviet airborne landing division numbers between 7,000 and 8,000 men and includes three airborne landing regiments, an artillery regiment, an antiarmor and antiaircraft division, and a battalion of engineers.

The Soviet airborne landing troops are commanded by Col Gen D. Sh. Sukhorukov, who replaced in that position Army General V. F. Margelov, who commanded those units for almost 23 years. The school for commissioned officers of that arm of the Soviet Armed Forces is located in Ryazan.

Military maneuvers have always been the usual method of drilling the armed forces and of testing their tactical, operational and strategic capabilities. They are also needed in that sense by modern armed forces, which are equipped with a variety of the most up-to-date equipment, which has made the operation of units and commands more difficult and complicated. But on the other hand certain states in the past used maneuvers for immediate preparations for war or local acts of war. From the strategic and operational viewpoint, military exercises demonstrate the aspiration of the great powers to the most complete possible combat readiness of the entire military mechanism so that the transition to a wartime footing can be made as quickly as possible. Finally, in the recent past military maneuvers have increasingly become an instrument in international politics and a means of conducting the Cold War.

DAILIES COMMENT ON GREEK NATIONAL DAY

AU251552 Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 24 Mar 84

[Text] Tirana, 25 March (ATA)--The dailies carry articles devoted to the National Day of the Greek Republic. The newspaper ZERI I POPPULIT entitles its article "Marked Day in the History of the People of Greece" whereas the newspaper BASHKIMI entitles it "The Day of Independence of the Greek People."

The article of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT says: Twenty-five March is a marked day in the history of Greece. On this day, 163 years ago, the great armed uprising of the Greek masses of people against the foreign occupier started. It was the climax of a period of century-long wars and battles, sacrifices and heroisms of the people for freedom, which opened the way to the independence of Greece. The struggle of the Greek people at that time, which is known with the name the Revolution of 1821, under the leadership of Ypsilanti, Colocotronis, etc., is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Greek people. Hence, the people of Greece commemorate this day as the day of independence.

The armed uprising of the Greek masses of people for the liberation of the country from the foreign yoke had a great importance both for Greece and its formation as an independent state outside the Ottoman Empire, and for the Balkan. They showed once again the rising of the liberation spirit and movements in the Balkans peninsula, which had never stopped, such as the continuous uprisings in Greece, Albania and elsewhere. Precisely for this reason, the March uprising of 1821 in Greece had a wide echo and support in the progressive circles and the democratic people all over Europe, who rose in defence of the Greek Revolution.

Many Albanians have taken part in the struggle of the Greek people for freedom and independence. They have fought and shed their blood, thus occupying an honourable place in the memory and history of this people who respect them today too. The Albanian patriots of that time considered the triumph of independence in Greece and its liberation from the foreign occupiers as an aid for the development of the Albanian movement for freedom and independence as well.

The Albanian people and the Greek people have old, historical and friendly ties forged in the struggle against the same enemies. Proceeding from the

long historic experience regarding the defence of freedom and independence, our two peoples have evaluated the importance of supporting each other's efforts for freedom and independent development. In the great decisive moments, in the historical storms and key events, the Albanian people have been side by side the Greek people. So it happened in the second world war too, when they fought together against the same enemy the Italian and German fascism.

The Albanian people and their government have always spoken and worked for the consolidation of the friendship with the Greek people, something which is in the interest of our two peoples and countries, the peace and stability in the Balkan peninsula. They have consistently followed the policy of good neighbourliness, respect of sovereignty and national independence, non-interference in the internal affairs and equal exchanges of mutual benefit. Such a policy is in accord with the interests of the Albanian people, the Greek people the other Balkan peoples.

The Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania has always undertaken and supported the concrete and constructive steps towards the consolidation of the relations between our two countries. In this direction, it has welcomed and encouraged the exchange of trade and cultural delegations of the ensembles and scientific, educational, literary, artistic, personalities, as well as mutual activity in different fields, which have contributed to the better acquaintance of our peoples, the improvement of cooperation between our two countries, the more objective evaluation of each other's progress. This good experience shows that all possibilities exist that these exchanges and relations be further developed on the basis of mutual interests and respect.

The development of the good relations between Albania and Greece has rightfully gladdened our peoples and we are convinced that this development will go forward, despite the efforts made by reaction and different hostile forces to disturb these relations and hamper the consolidation of the friendship between the two countries.

The superpowers and other enemies try by thousand and one ways to fan the fire in the Balkans, to turn it again into "a powder keg," to put the people at loggerheads with one another so that they [will] be unable to resist the interferences of imperialism and international reaction. Therefore, for Albania the opposing of the interference and the presence of the two superpowers in the Balkans is an integral part of the war for the real defence of the freedom and independence of any Balkan country.

The Albanian people have had and have the desire to live always in good neighbourliness with the Greek people and with the other peoples of the peninsula. They will make all efforts to strengthen always the friendship, which has stood many tests, being convinced that the Greek people wish the same thing. "The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people,--Comrade Enver Hoxha has said--are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is a master in his own house and his own affairs. The friendship of the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship which will increasingly be strengthened and flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans."

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LOW BIRTH RATE ANALYZED

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian No 3, 14 Feb 84 pp 8-11

[Article by Vladimir Ardenski and Khristo Stanev: "Third Child an Urgent Necessity"]

[Text] "Why Does Anyone Choose Another?" in the trial issue of OTECHESTVO [Fatherland] and "In Anticipation of the 9 Millionth Bulgarian" in issue No. 1 of 1975--with these headlines the magazine over the years has launched the topic of the modern Bulgarian family, the birth rate, the rearing and education of children, the growth of the individual.

Today we turn our glance towards Pleven Okrug.

It's Not Easy to Give Advice Either

Time was when propriety and prudence prescribed kiddies by the dozen around the fireside. Bring out three today and a lot of heads will begin to turn away, clucking pityingly, "Nice fellow, but he surely didn't intend so many!" The opinion that two children are the greatest of plenty by now passes for undeniable truth. Even one is: there are half the headaches, and the parents' holdings are entirely for it.

The argument is not between the past and the present. Conditions have changed; demands have changed, too. The new prejudices and concern lest Bulgarian stock should dwindle contend dramatically today in the home, in the street, in Fatherland Front clubs, in APK [agroindustrial complex] boards of managers, at okrug and obshtina sessions, in the Housing Accommodation Service, on the train and at the bus station, in letters to newspapers and magazines. Here is one such letter:

"I am the mother of three sons. Two of them are mine, the third is from my husband's first marriage. He lives with us and we have been taking care of him for 2 years now. In all that time his mother has not looked him up. But the question now is not about her, but about us--to be more precise, about me: Can I call myself his mother since I am the person closest to him after his father? I ask because almost regularly if I start to speak of the three as my own sons, I meet with ironic smiles. And further because--most likely on the basis of

the ironic smiles--we are denied recognition as a multichild family. There is something wrong, it seems to me, in asking whether the children are from one marriage or two. Isn't the most important thing where they live and who takes care of them?

"We live five in a 9-square-meter room. It is in the Pleven housing tract. The okrug people's council gave it to us. But it is damp and musty. My husband, a bus driver, has to get his rest in it, in the midst of the noise made by the children, after he has been at the wheel for hours on end, sometimes at night too. Here the 12-year-old Emil has to prepare his lessons and the younger ones, Tsvetomir and Yordan, have to play when the weather is bad.

"I am now on maternity leave because of the two youngsters. We often have to spend the entire day in the room because the elevator does not operate all the time and I can't get the baby carriage down from the seventh floor. In this situation the humidity gets especially high for I both do laundry and bathe the babies and cook here. The youngsters are almost constantly sick.

"Let me tell you that my husband and I sleep on the floor because there is no room for a fourth bed. I don't even know any longer whom to turn to for help: we need a larger place to live. The okrug people's council in Pleven either doesn't want to help us or honestly can't. I realize that there are probably others like us too, but the point is the rearing of three children.

"Can the editors give us any advice whatever?

"With kind regards,

"Svetla Ninova Todorova
Pleven, Totleben Street 33, 7th floor."

It was easy to imagine the picture, but we went to check just the same. Our impressions, transformed into a question, we referred to the Housing Accommodation Service. It is headed up by Tsvetanka Dилова. Dилова informed us that the sender of the letter, a cook at a tuberculosis clinic, got the apartment when she had a 4-month-old baby. The 9 square meters (the wash basin and little toilet can with a little forcing be called "efficiency units") sufficed for her. Crowding set in when Svetla got married and especially after the birth of the third child. The family is card-indexed as multichild and extremely needy. That is to say, in 1984 it will be offered housing for purchase. So there have to be the necessary savings. This left us apprehensive whether the rescue of the children from the stuffy air and dampness would come soon and whether the father, without sufficient rest, would not sometime fall asleep at the wheel of a bus carrying 60-70 people! If everything turned out well, well and good; if not, who would convince Svetla that /public opinion/ [in boldface] indeed supports having and rearing a third child? For we are not undertaking the responsibility.

Accommodation in state (departmental) housing is impossible at present--it has not yet been constructed. True, the Plevenites were the first to undertake housing construction using local resources and materials, with the enterprises

participating. They have their own ministerial decree--32; the projects have been apportioned out, the enterprises have put in nearly 15 million leva, the house-building combine is casting structural elements, a workforce has been recruited and the first successful attempts have been made. Because of these a national conference was convened in Pleven (October 1983). The conference recommended that the State Planning Committee clarify two points: Who will extend credit to the owners of the parcels on which construction is under way, and who will provide the /necessary credit limits/ [in boldface]? The expectation that these dragged-out questions will be decided favorably is charged with optimism. . . But for the city of Pleven alone 10,000 apartments are needed to satisfy housing needs (including Svetla Todorova's). The construction program targets the building of 1500 per year, i.e. 10,000 in 7 years. But up until then? Obviously, what is more than necessary is more energetic intervention to avoid the sharp edges destroying the belief of so many people that a third child is a necessity, and an urgent one at that, rather than an additional burden; they must not abandon this on the pretext or justification, "We do not have suitable housing."

There are 220 multichild families registered in the okrug city. The annual housing allocation lists begin with small families. Who will lease to couples over 30, and when? Yet for them alone at least 500 apartments are needed for the first time. Or, if we come back to Svetla Todorova's question, the okrug people's council honestly wants to help, but cannot. At least for the present.

What If This Happens?

In the year 2000, i.e. only 16 years from now, the villages in Pleven Okrug will be depopulated unless the present population reproduction picture changes. This is not our /fabrication, but a scientific prediction/ [in boldface] substantiated by figures and demographic analyses--a solid research finding.

We shuddered at the thought that this rich land that has nourished generations of stalwart Bulgarians, that has been watered with Bulgarian and fraternal Russian blood, could one day be left without farmers. It is frightening to imagine that villages, decked out like brides and weighted down with treasure, will be deserted. But truth is truth--births recently in Pleven Okrug are far fewer than deaths; the age composition of the population, mainly rural population, is rapidly changing in favor of elderly people.

Most of the data eliciting the painful forecast are from 1982 and earlier. It would be in order to ask what direction the birth rate took in 1983 and, first and foremost, what the situation is regarding the third child, to whom a role fraught with destiny has been allotted. We proved to be naive Don Quixotes: why, who in January will set about collecting information for you for the year just elapsed? When the time comes, the statistics will tell what the situation is. And yet Dr Lyubomir Tsekov, who heads up the Public Health Directorate of the Okrug People's Council, courteously thanked us for the idea; in the future it would not be a bad idea if they followed population reproduction indicators more currently and differentially--it would be useful. . . The next day we were provided with information in the following form: "Three-child families 360; four-child families 120; five-child families 45; six-child families 5;

seven-child families 21; eight-child families 7; nine-child families 5; 10-child families 4; 11-child families 1; 12-child families 1. . ." That was all. But how many children altogether were born in 1983; how were they distributed by villages and cities; how many were first children, how many second; and so there was no place for us to begin a study.

We are far removed from medicine. But as far as we know, a diagnosis is made not only on the basis of old pains, but also according to new complaints and, not least, from the objective state of the organism. KAT [Automotive Transportation Control] agencies begin the new day with a bulletin on road conditions and the previous day's accidents. Does not the population reproduction problem require more current and fresh information? The difference between the death of a person on the roadway and the killing of a child in utero, albeit "legal," is not so great, is it? Why don't okrug (and obshtina) heads, if not every day at least once a week, have on their desks information about new births and the parents' most urgent needs? No, the point at issue here is not just some sort of reporting but, first and foremost, speedy and flexible countermeasures. We can hear the armchair adviser, "Let's not reduce matters to a campaign." To be sure, the population reproduction problem is neither spring plowing nor fall planting, but herein lies everything. . . Bulgaria's destiny!

What Is Alike and Different in Three Conurbation Systems

The Cherven Bryag conurbation system has a birth rate of 9.12 per 1000. Here in 1982 298 children were born and 699 elderly persons died. There is a stable trend of not exceeding two children (55 percent). This state of affairs seriously worries public opinion. At sessions and at plenums this opinion reports that a wife's professional commitments conflict with motherhood. This conflict still has not been overcome in the territory of the obshtina despite the transfer of pregnant women and of mothers with small children to more suitable employment, despite domestic services and other facilities.

Newlyweds prefer one child. They decide very frivolously that it frees them from heavy obligations, enables them to live a happy life and thus strengthen their marital union. But it is precisely the single-child families that prove most fragile: there are the most divorces in these cases, as well as gross pedagogical errors.

The lack of new housing ties the hands of Cherven Bryag public opinion from appreciably stimulating the birth rate. The APK governing body still vacillates about assuming the costs of a third child in day nurseries and kindergartens and its meals in school cafeterias. Enterprises and institutions refuse to appoint pregnant women. Last year 76 were appointed following the energetic intervention of the Manpower Bureau.

These undermining circumstances and discrepancies make the third-child campaign illusory. In the entire conurbation system of 44,598 inhabitants, all told 25 third children were born last year. In the city of Cherven Bryag with 18,000 inhabitants there were just barely six. Even Koynare outdid it; there, there were seven third children.

The Pordim conurbation system with 11,700 inhabitants is neither one of the largest nor smallest. As compared with 1979, its population has declined by more than 1300. There was no great migration during this period--both industrial enterprises and the workshop of the "Sanya" Plant retained a considerable portion of their workforce. And still quite a few young people headed for Pleven and other larger cities. Why? Because farm work does not particularly attract them; because floundering in the mud and dust on the farms and in the fields is not for them. They leave houses which many Pleven families would envy and look for jobs that will match their interests and standards. Pordim and its constituent villages for year after year have ranked first in the okrug in the planning and provision of public services and amenities, but not the farmsteads and specialized livestock sections of the APK. It is known that there was a decision of the APK managing committee on 1 October 1983 to give an additional 25 leva per month to multichild families if both parents are employed in agriculture, or 15 leva if only one is employed. This decision, however, is still nestling in the files. Yet everybody knows that this agroindustrial complex has solid financial resources. But let us leave its managing committee in peace; it has far more important matters to decide, and let us take a look in the records of the obshtina people's council.

Last year 24 births were recorded in the entire conurbation system, while in the village of Kateritsa there has not been a single birth in the past 5 years. In the village of Borislav the last baby saw the light of day 3 years ago. Is it any wonder then that the Pordim conurbation system is "aging" precipitately? We conducted a little poll with young mothers. Of the 10 we questioned, eight said they were undecided about a second child, while not one stated that she wanted a third child. Mothers with two children were still more categorical about their unwillingness to have many children. An exception was Dora Velikova, 27-year-old program director at the radio center and correspondence student in first-year Bulgarian philology. She maintained that her dream was a third child and as soon as she finished with her examinations, she would get ready for it. If anywhere in the obshtina some young family had a third child, it was accidental; the parents were expecting a second child, but twins arrived.

Refraining from having a second, and especially a third, child is an epidemic malady that has seriously hit young families in the Belene conurbation system, too. Statistics indicate that the birth rate here is 8 per 1000, i.e. the lowest in the okrug! From 167 in 1980, the number of newborns dropped to 68 in 1983, or less than half the number of deaths. Increasingly pensioners are giving the villages their image--in Petokladentsi 500 out of 1100 inhabitants are pensioners. The situation is alarming, but unlike elsewhere, the leaders here are not closing their eyes and are seeking a way out. A comprehensive program has been formulated to eliminate the factors holding back the reproduction of human resources. The expenses of supporting a third child (from birth to age 18) are assumed by the APK. The expenditures for the solitary child are one thing; the budget required for two or three mischievous boys is a different matter. Only someone who has not brought up children can object. That is why family allowances are graduated: 15 leva per month for the first child, 25 for the second, 45 for the third. But if you calculate how much is required for shoes alone, especially if the children have grown a little (not to mention

other human needs), it can be seen that the parents of an only child again are in a more advantageous economic position. That is why we cannot help but welcome the Belene APK's statesmanlike decision and its application of giving an additional 50 leva for every third child.

In the large cities the housing question usually ranks first: children can be created in a basement or small apartment but it is difficult to rear them there. If only there was suitable housing. . . It is an absolutely necessary condition, but does it suffice alone? In the Pordim, as well as the Belene conurbation system, in most houses you can prance about on a horse (so long as you don't hit the color television set and other expensive appliances); the families, however, have one, at most two children. In Belene more than 130 married couples have one child. From there move on to Zgalevo and the sign "Model Conurbation" will greet you. The sidewalks on both sides of the main street are under vine arbors, the houses glisten with order and cleanliness, there is an automobile--sometimes two--in every yard, but ask how many mothers under the age of 45 have three children.

No, Without Confidence It's Not Possible

In Pleven Okrug, too, the number of abortions exceeds the number of births, the victim most often being the third child. It must not be born because of family conflicts or because the economic situation is unenviable, for the sake of professional ambitions, because the children she has are already advanced in years. . . Some pregnant women decide the question of abortion by themselves, ignoring their husband's opinion ("I'm an emancipated woman!"); others are simply capricious. But some with reason feel hurt because adverse circumstances in their personal life are casually declared to be a "psychological barrier"; the disdainful attitude towards married women angers them (tact and attention are for girls, divorcees and widows); they are afraid that their secret will not be kept. Sometimes indeed it becomes common knowledge, but not through the fault of the public commission that authorizes or denies abortions. Its sessions are once a month and naturally are an event. On the appointed day, curious people "patrol" around the outpatient clinic (health service) to see what women have made their way to the commission. And why--the scandal-mongering imagination will decide for itself at the expense of somebody else's predicament.

Out of the question! It is a provocative paradox that it is the economically well-off and educated women who reject not a third, but a second child too. They, to be sure, are no justification for the commission members not always showing sufficient delicacy either in the interview which they conduct or in the decisions which they make. The grounds, "I'll get a divorce," they equate with "My husband has been abroad for two years" by their categorical "NO!" Does it require a great deal of quick wit to distinguish the two situations, the second of which threatens a family with ruin? But the normative document does not envisage such a possibility and in order to prevent a "violation of the law" a denial follows. The argument merits no respect. That is why many women, for their part, do not respect the commission's opinion and find a way out for themselves. . . Last year two of them met their deaths following an abortion performed incompetently under nonclinical conditions.

Distrust increasingly is becoming mutual and the results of this are unfavorable, above all for the third child. The commission's procedural practice needs to be improved. Otherwise, its efforts will continue to be perceived not as concern, but as a threat to the honor and security of women who have declared their pregnancy to be unwanted.

Even the slightest wavering in respect for a mother casts a serious shadow on the upbringing and education, and above all on the number, of children. For births to be so alarmingly low in Pleven Okrug means that there something essential has been overlooked, has not been clearly seen or has not received the finishing touches, and that mainly in respect of the mothers of many children. The result is that Svetla Todorova's question, namely whether she can be regarded as a mother of three sons since she is raising them, is truly perplexing. Remaining apparently less than settled is the question whether a third child is an additional burden or the only possible alternative in our efforts to protect the Bulgarian stock from dwindling. But verbal propaganda will hardly promote the appearance of the third child and subsequent children, as one of the Belene leaders said. The successive birth changes only the subgroup in the category of extremely needy people, that is, brings us no closer to the necessary solution. In short, hard-working multichild families must have absolute priority in any housing allocation ordinance.

It is high time for a specialized agency that will settle in practice the problems of the multichild--i.e., the normal, the natural--Bulgarian family so that the parents, overworked as it is, should not have to run around from institution to institution like petitioners overtaken by a serious calamity. We owe them the minimum of respect and gratitude. Therefore, any disregard, no matter whether deliberate or unwitting, is offensive, beginning with the way in which the documents for the medal "Mother's Glory" or "Motherhood" are got up. Why must the mother herself seek it and sometimes wait six years till she gets it? If nothing else, the still nonexistent specialized institute should at least study the experience of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary--how kindergarten fees as well as the age for pensioning and even the prices of some commodities are determined by the number of children in the family.

Problem Is Not Pleven's Alone

True, the problem is no longer Pleven's alone, but from the failure to solve it Plevenites suffer as much as everybody else.

The monthly fee for day nurseries does not exceed 12 leva, for kindergarten 36 leva. The third child is exempt from the fee in both cases. But why in rural kindergartens do parents pay entirely for meals unless there is an enterprise or economic organization that will assume the difference in excess of 36 leva? Why must every mother who lives in the country and sends three children to kindergarten scrape together the money for three full fees?

Before the APK was created, no such problem existed. The TKZS's [labor cooperative farms], although they had more limited resources, supported all the day nurseries, the permanent and seasonal kindergartens, the children's dairy

kitchens. Yet some agroindustrial complexes today display astonishing frugality. There is no prescriptive document compelling them to assume at least part of the maintenance of their workers' children after the example of the state in the cities. And now the kindergartens/nurseries, built on time with so much labor and love, are almost empty. The dairy kitchens (eight or nine in the villages of the okrug) are withering away. For one thing there are fewer children; for another, parents are not inclined to pay full fees--"granny's" home day nursery, kindergarten and dairy kitchen at the same time is cheaper. Moreover, there the tots eat more fresh fruits and vegetables rather than, say, salami and tomato ketchup, canned food and stewed fruit, even during the summer and autumn.

And one more "trifling" question: Why do mothers with small children in Pordim or Petokladentsi have to wait 3-4 hours in front of the store or pastry shop until the milk truck arrives?

This is one of the reasons why Pleven young families move not only to the city, but also to other okrugs. If they don't move, they refrain from having a third child. And the depopulation continues.

The okrug people's council figures that it cannot count on the magnanimity of the APK (as at Belene), has studied the problem and calculates that to normalize matters will require at least 1 million leva. The million will be spent in stages, with several rural regions being helped this very year with 100,000 leva.

A heavy stone has fallen on Pleven Okrug. Where should a start be made, what lever should be pushed first to open the floodgates of the birth rate? Everything--both economic support and wholehearted public attention--must be given, from all sides and with all energies simultaneously, to the children and especially to multichild families.

In recent years much has been done to resurrect the old crafts, to study and collect our ethnographic and folkloristic heritage and to seek out the roots of the old families. This is all very well and good, very necessary--otherwise, what is native Bulgarian will dry up as a flower without water. But native stock is protected not only by wood-carving, embroidery, song and reminiscence. Native stock is protected first and foremost with children. With many children! The multichild family begins after the third child, but does not end with it!

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BRATISLAVA PRAVDA REVIEWS PONOMAREV'S BOOK

AU191554 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 March on page 6 carries an Otokar Mosner 900-word review of the 1983 Czech translation of "Communism in the Changing World," a book written by Boris Ponomarev, politburo candidate member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "whose name and personality are connected with [word indintinct] of outstanding theoretical-political works, devoted to the most topical problems of the present-day world. Particularly important is his activity in the international communist movement, and especially his inspiring appearances at international consultations, conferences, symposia, and seminars."

In the aforementioned book, the author--"on the basis of his extensive theoretical as well as practical political experience"--devotes himself to topical issues of the theory of scientific communism; real socialism--in a section of the book called "The Fruit of the 20th Century;" and to the present-day communist movement, Mosner says.

He also mentions that a Slovak translation of the book will be available soon.

CSO: 2400/287

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOJTIK PRAISES LENINISM, ATTACKS EUROCOMMUNISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 6, 8 Feb 84 pp 1,3

[Address by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a festive assembly commemorating the 15th anniversary of the weekly TRIBUNA: "In the Front Lines of the Struggle for People's Hearts and Minds"]

[Text] Comrades, TRIBUNA was founded 15 years ago. Its first editor-in-chief was Comrade Oldrich Svestka, whom I remember not only from the memorial service, since he left us last year, but especially because he has forever entered the history of TRIBUNA and because he deserves high esteem for its revolutionary profile. Among his first collaborators was Comrade Karel Srsen, who for a time headed the editorial collective after Comrade Svestka's death. Comrade Srsen too can only be remembered in our memories and he too should today be mentioned with honor as one of TRIBUNA's co-founders.

Shortly after its birth, Comrade Gustav Husak stated that TRIBUNA was at the time the only Marxist-Leninist publication in our country.

The Party Took the Crisis Situation in Hand

Comrade Husak's statement aptly characterized the situation which existed here in early 1969. The rightists, protected at the moment by the person of First Secretary Alexander Dubcek, hampered, slowed down and complicated the process of consolidation in the party and society. They tried their best to sabotage the conclusions of the September and November 1968 Central Committee resolutions and proceeded under the slogan "the worse, the better," i.e., the worse things became for the party and state, the better for the position of the right wing and the counterrevolution in which, ignoring the situation, they wanted to continue. In their effort to exacerbate tensions, they were assisted by many journalists in radio, television and the press.

The obstructionism of the right-wingers, their provocations, and their forays not only did not meet with the broad public support which they had anticipated, but it brought the patience of the party and the people to its limits. The masters of manipulation had miscalculated when they counted on public support.

An expression of the constructive effort of the healthy core of the party which, under the leadership of Comrade Gustav Husak, had grasped the initiative to lead the party and society out of confusion and disruption to peaceful, sunny days of creative work, was the April session of the Central Committee in 1969.

The election of Comrade Gustav Husak to the post of first secretary of the party at this truly historical plenary meeting opened the way to a new developmental stage, to the final foiling of the plans of external and internal reactionaries for the liquidation of socialist Czechoslovakia, to a gradual reparation of harm committed by the rightist opportunists in the political and economic life of the country, in ideology, in the sphere of culture, in foreign policy, especially in relations with the Soviet Union. It was to contribute to the restoration of the party through a principled policy of confidence of broad strata of the working people and lead it at the head of the National Front to the overall progress of socialism.

By returning to its Leninist course, to the heritage of the Victorious February, the party was able to complete its consolidation and, following its successful mastering, boldly step forward and begin the building of an advanced socialist society.

Thus the socialist system in our country was in the end not only saved but also strengthened. Thus the position of Czechoslovakia in the world community of socialist states and in the broad anti-imperialist front for progress and peace was not only maintained but made firmer.

Today, when we remember the events of 15 years ago, we can say with justified satisfaction and pride that the party came out healthy in its foundations, that following the cleansing of the Aegean stables by expelling the rightist opportunists, many of whom turned into outright enemies of the party and socialism, the party demonstrated its ability to resolve new problems of socialist construction.

The party did not waste a single opportunity for its further advancement. It mastered problems which were much more complicated than those which had brought about the crisis situation. It then made use of all the advantages of international assistance and the conclusion of the April and May 1969 Central Committee Plenums.

This was so because the party did not allow itself to succumb to the lure of pragmatism, halfway compromise measures, and refused to negotiate fundamental political strategy and the perspectives of socialism with the rightists or anyone else. Similarly, it refused to be pressured into a position of seeking excuses for the deformation of the "post-January" policies. On the contrary, it drew appropriate conclusions from the sharp confrontation with the counter-revolution, as well as from the pre-January development, i.e., the errors which had evoked dissatisfaction among the working people which, providing fuel for the reactionaries, was demagogically exploited by the self-appointed "spokesmen of the people."

Briefly and to the point, the party mastered the new situation which to many appeared unmanageable for a long time to come, by taking an uncompromising principled road, the road of Lenin and Gottwald.

Yes, the road of Lenin and Gottwald, since we correctly link Gottwald's tradition with Leninism.

The Failure of Contemporary Revisionist Structures

Soon we will be commemorating the 50th anniversary of the celebrated Fifth CPCZ Congress, at which the Gottwald leadership was elected. This initiated the process of party restructuring in the revolutionary vein and spirit of Bolshevism and Leninism. Thanks to Gottwald's bolshevization, the party became capable of bringing our people to the victory of socialism. Leninism was and is the foundation of the successful policy of the party. Without the creative development and application of Leninism, we would have been unable to resolve the tasks of the revolutionary restructuring of our society. The crisis of the late 1960's, as convincingly shown in the "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th CPCZ Congress," was primarily the result of gross neglect and breaches of Leninist principles in theory and practice of their application, in the concepts, methods and style of our work.

This is a conclusion which our critics, and not only those from the ranks of outright enemies, refuse to comprehend. The so-called Eurocommunists, those who have referred to themselves by this name since 1963 in order to distinguish themselves from adherents of Leninism, are trying every possible way to prove that the difficulties of formulating real socialism emanate from blind allegiance to scientific socialism, to Leninism.

This absurd invention was to be confirmed in Czechoslovakia. Long before January 1968 we had visits and advice from the ideologues of the "renaissance process" on how to rid ourselves of dogmatism and conservatism. In their terminology, of course, dogmatism and conservatism does not mean anything but a firm conviction of the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism in the current period. In their eyes, the extreme manifestation of dogmatism and conservatism is the recognition of the special importance of the general application of the experiences of the CPSU. Czechoslovakia in the 1960's, when a door opened to the right wing, was to be--as they hoped from the beginning--a testing ground for their ideological structures based on, in contrast to the Soviet experiences, a negation of the heritage of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on ignoring the reality (proven by revolutionary development in this century) that Leninism is the Marxism of the contemporary era which began with the Russian October.

Czechoslovakia was meant not only to test the ideological structure of modern revisionism, but also to provide an example of a "new model" of socialism.

Let us now leave aside the facts which are quite self-evident and which cannot be denied by anyone capable of the least degree of objectivity, namely that without the experiences of the CPSU and the aid which the Soviet Union

selflessly offers to revolutionary and progressive forces anywhere we would be condemned to confusion and helplessness, and would not be able to resist the most varied external threats to which we have been and are still exposed. Let us note a fact which was completely ignored by our critics and which relates to the real fate of their ideological axioms through which they think they can replace Leninism. Indeed, while the ideas which they have consistently injected into the minds of willing pupils in our country may have existed only in the minds of philosophers, economists, historians, literati and publicists, some people could still imagine that they represent a quest for a "new road." However, as soon as they initiated their realization, and this is the pitfall, as soon as these ideas become flesh and blood, in other words, as soon as there appeared the real proponents of these ideas who were not interested in personal rehabilitation from a fate imposed by the revolution but rather in the restoration of a political system and ideology overcome by the revolution and, finally, as soon as they instituted a witchhunt against those who had remained most loyal to socialism, the road which had promised to be a "renaissance of socialism" turned sharply to the right and back--not toward the future but back into the past. All the rhetoric about "progressive policies" was nothing but a smokescreen for reaction and counterrevolution.

And it certainly was not by chance that the developments in Czechoslovakia were monitored by the most reactionary circles in the West with suspense and sympathy. Mr Brzezinski, whose political career was then only in the distant future, even appeared in Prague. Revisionism, especially all forms of anti-Sovietism and nationalism in our movement, were always among the problems which he, as chief of one of the most important research centers of anticommunism, was always most interested in.

What our rightists learned from their admirers they demonstrated in practice. They clearly showed that the ideas of latter-day "Eurocommunism," cloaked in promises of allegedly improved socialism as long as it rejects Leninism, only served to deceive the working people and disorient the public. These ideas incited the antisocialist forces yearning for revenge.

How Far They Have Gone

The evolution of counterrevolutionaries is very instructive. Recently, for example, in late November of last year, there was a meeting of representatives of our political emigration in Franken, FRG--a periodic meeting secretly organized by the Catholic organization "Opus Bonum." The tone for these gettogethers is set by emissaries from Radio Free Europe and, naturally, the famous Mr Tigrid. All of them, of course, are "Catholics" of the first order, as well as real "patriots." Many of them belong to the former "redeemers" of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Today, however, they hate nothing more than their socialist fatherland. For them, socialism is the same type of evil as for Mr Reagan, a historical anomaly which must be eliminated at any price. They assault the Western peace movements, and even the West German "Green" Party is not spared their criticism. They are the mercenaries of Reagan's militarist course. It is a fact that they have to earn their pay. They not only do not conceal their joy at the deployment of new American first-strike missiles in Western Europe, but can hardly wait until the United

States "pressures" the Soviet Union and the countries of our community from a position of strength, until America forces us to engage in a "liberalization," as they euphemistically refer to destabilization and upheaval. This, in their view, no longer has anything to do with some sort of humanized socialism; such notions they consider today as utterly naive, erroneous and harmful. To Czechoslovakia they assigned only one future option, namely incorporation sooner or later into the sphere of imperialism.

There were even voices at the above-mentioned meeting which demanded that "Czechs must be pushed toward war." Thus, no detente, no peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, but an "American peace" which Reagan promises when he wins his "crusade" against the Soviet Union and the forces of socialism and progress.

We know that a bankrupt group of emigres does not in any way represent a partner in any serious debate. However, these people are links in a chain. Moreover, they teach us an important lesson which we must never forget, namely the inevitable doom of any model of socialism based on renegade tendencies and betrayal of Leninism.

Even these traitors, though they had no intention of doing so, again demonstrated the validity of the well-known truth that it is precisely real patriotism which is inseparably linked with proletarian and socialist internationalism and that the test of both, as often expressed by Klement Gottwald, is a positive attitude toward the Soviet Union and loyalty to Leninism.

Meritorious Services of TRIBUNA

That which has been confirmed by developments during the past 15 years, what we know today and of which there can be no doubt, was naturally not at all clear, nor could it be, at the time the counterrevolution, already reduced to defensive positions, was doing everything in its power to engage in sabotage in order to retain its positions in early 1969. It is unquestionably to TRIBUNA's credit that it helped unmask the hypocrisy of the counterrevolution, expose its real positions, its true intentions and destructive platform. At the time it was founded and began publishing, it became, along with ZPRAVY and TYDENIK, a periodical which called a spade a spade, did not claim that white was red, that reaction was progress, that it was humane to demand retribution for the February victory and socialist changes, while defending socialism was inhumane. Gradually, step by step, TRIBUNA burst through the web of lies and half-truths which for months had been amassed by the rightists who, to the discredit of the opportunists in the party leadership, had gained decisive positions in the mass information media and had turned them into an instrument of disintegration and destruction of socialism. This monopoly which our opponents cynically call "freedom of information," since their notions of freedom are precisely delineated by their ability to disseminate it without control and force their will upon others, suffered a severe blow by the appearance of TRIBUNA. Then it may still have appeared that its voice would be weak, that it would be drowned in the hysteria incited by right-wing journalism. Indeed, there were attempts from

very high quarters to silence it as soon as possible, and the rightists even organized a strike of typesetters. This is how far our sworn fighters for a "free press" had sunk. They even cited Palach and claimed that he had sacrificed his life for a ban on ZPRAVY, so that no one could disturb the orchestrated din of the then mass information media.

Truth, however, could not be suppressed. To allow it to surface required great courage and firm communist convictions in the face of such demagoguery. This TRIBUNA undertook without hesitation by contributing to the process which was decisive for future development, namely to a differentiation of opinions in the party and society, to serious thought on the course and real causes of the crisis, as well as the need to oppose the disrupters, while fully supporting the process of consolidation and restoration of socialist values.

It was admittedly merely a beginning, the main impulse could only come from the April 1969 Central Committee plenum which I have already mentioned. Yet it was a very important beginning. It predestined what, following the April session, was expressed in the "Word to Our Own Ranks" in which publicists and journalists loyal to the party and socialism restated their mission to serve the party, socialism and the ideals on which the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class based its principled policies which alone entitle it to the privilege of leading the masses of working people in the socialist restructuring of society.

I believe that we can say today with conviction that not only TRIBUNA, which we are honoring here (and 15 years, while a relatively short time span, fully justify the commemoration, since they represent a whole important stage of changes of a fundamental character), but our press in its entirety along with radio and television, whose social importance is constantly growing, are conscientiously living up to the mission assigned to them by the socialist revolution, in which they follow the glorious revolutionary tradition of the workers and communist press.

Our printed media, radio and television constitute a firm and reliable component of the ideological front of the party, and our communist publicists are in its forward ranks. Also in the front lines of the struggle for the hearts and minds of people, side by side with RUDE PRAVO, we find TRIBUNA.

Frightening Plands Hidden Behind Peace Rhetoric, a Web of Lies and Disinformation

I am speaking of the ideological front, a field of battle whose uniqueness is the fact that it never ceases. In this field there is no time for respite, here there are no intermissions, no periods of truce. This was valid in the past and is even more so today when the American imperialists are unleashing a ruthless psychological war against the countries of real socialism. They are, indeed, doing this under the baton of the President himself, albeit according to the tune composed by the real rulers of this imperialist state.

These real rulers appreciate the President's acting talents, since they are needed to present the expansionist imperial policy of the United States as

the alleged fulfillment of its "mission in the world" in defending the values of democracy allegedly threatened by communists. What this is really all about was recently demonstrated by the United States quite vividly and shockingly in Grenada. This it demonstrates by means of its hired foreign killers in El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries. Right now it is exemplarily defending its notions of democracy and its "vital interests" in Lebanon which, along with the Israeli aggressor, it is turning into ruins.

Not long ago, Reagan gave a big speech on the state of the union. I mention it only as an example of unmitigated gall used to conceal the most dangerous preparations for war that humanity has ever known. Yet, Reagan is trying to hypnotize his future electors, as well as the nations of other countries, into believing that he is the only defender of peace in the world and that, if he is reelected president, the entire United States will play this role. All this while the Pentagon unleashes another round of armament, demands ever improved means of mass destruction, prepares for the military use of space, expands its military presence in many parts of the world, and exacerbates tensions in various places so that it can build new military bases with which it encircles the world of socialism. Is it not clear that Reagan's current peace rhetoric is to serve only to weaken the vigilance of nations in the face of these war preparations and the militarist course of his government?

The terrifying plans for nuclear war threatening human civilization are well served by imperialist propaganda which teaches people how to get used to the thought of this war and which, more or less skillfully, camouflages these plans. It quite obviously counts on a person's instincts, his political illiteracy and cultural backwardness, which imperialism intensifies through every means at its disposal. It is for this reason that the United States so hard-headedly struggles against any weakening or disruption of its "imperialism of information," since it cannot permit the creation of a new order in the flow of information, as recommended and elaborated by UNESCO.

Such a system, however, is demanded by all who realize that the time of colonial oppression has definitely passed and that for the sake of human civilization and culture, peaceful relations among nations and cooperation among them, it is absolutely necessary to ensure that all nations have access to truthful information and education. It can no longer be permissible for nations to be deceived by a network of lies and disinformation through which the militarists want to manipulate world public opinion, sow conflict and hatred among nations and states, spread racism, incite mutual mistrust and lack of hope for the future.

These important problems are mentioned in a letter to UNESCO General Director Mr Mbowe from Comrade Y.V. Andropov, who stresses the great role of the mass information media, notably in the current international situation. The American imperialists hope that with the help of the present "imperialism of information" they will be able in the future to conceal the militarist course of their policies and place the blame and responsibility for world tensions, as well as all other problems brought about by the acceleration of the arms race, on the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the world forces of peace and progress.

We know that the mass information media can contribute in a significant manner to mutual understanding and cooperation among nations, to the struggle for peace and elimination of the threat of war. Therefore, we will do all we can to ensure that our information media and all instruments of propaganda serve this cardinal and presently truly most important and serious task. We must even more determinedly, convincingly and with better argumentation and activism point out the fundamental differences between the peace policies of the Soviet Union, our country and the other countries of the socialist community on the one hand, and the aggressive militarist course of the United States and those of its allies supporting it on the other.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. Socialism also represents real democracy and freedom for the working people, a dynamic system to which belongs the future, since it creates the necessary basic conditions for the overall development of the human personality, for the application of the creative abilities of people, in harmony with their real vital and human needs. Socialist development is the legality of modern history.

The current international situation prompts high vigilance and responsibility with which we must approach new tasks in the construction of developed socialism, in line with the program of the 16th Congress of our party. Such was also the conclusion of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum held in late November of last year, where there was discussion of the further development of our national economy in light of the international situation. For us, it follows from this session that we must intensify ideological work, propaganda and agitation. Even if we invented and introduced an ideally perfect mechanism of management and planning, this would be to no avail without our ability to rely on the factor represented by dedicated working people, wise managers of socialist property, citizens of a socialist state, who recognize not only their rights which they know how to use, but also their duties which they are not neglecting. The crux of educational work is fostering socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The expression of patriotic and internationalist dedication is an activist and dedicated approach to labor and civic responsibilities, readiness to perform tasks which benefit society, as well as the ability to defend our socialist achievements, should this become necessary.

This year we are entering the period of preparations for a dignified commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation antifascist struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Unquestionably the most important event this year will be the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, of which Comrade Gustav Husak was a leading representative.

We do not recall history merely to reminisce or divert attention from the burning problems and tasks of today. On the contrary, the lessons of the past serve us as inspiration for further efforts and new energy, so that we may successfully master our present duties and step boldly forward with justifiable optimism and bright perspective.

It is in this spirit that we remember the TRIBUNA anniversary. May this glimpse of its beginnings and its path provide encouragement to the whole editorial collective and all those engaged on the ideological front for further endeavor in the future struggle for socialism and peace.

STROUGAL REPORT TO ASSEMBLY SESSION

LD211512 Prague CTK in English 1329 GMT 21 Mar 84

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Good results are being achieved in Czechoslovakia in the course of implementation of the resolutions of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party, said a government report delivered by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal today at a joint session of the two houses of the Federal Assembly.

"The year 1984 began in a complicated international situation. Despite this, we are not pessimists and believe that our optimism is realistic. It is based on the consistence and firmness of the peace policy of the countries of the socialist community, and the determination of nations to prevent the outbreak of war. We believe that it is possible to achieve a positive upturn in international relations," the premier said.

He pointed out that the most important task of the Czechoslovak Government in the sphere of foreign policy is to exert efforts to avert the danger of nuclear war, to halt the arms race and to achieve disarmament.

Speaking of the dangerous situation which developed in Europe in consequence of the deployment of new U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons, premier Strougal said that the United States and some of its allies remained deaf to the gestures of goodwill and the peace initiatives of the socialist countries. By this, they have assumed a great responsibility towards the nations of Europe and the world.

The deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe made it indispensable to adopt appropriate measures to secure the defence of the Warsaw Treaty countries, Premier STrougal said.

The missile complexes of operational-tactical designation which are being installed also on Czechoslovak territory on the basis of an agreement between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Governments are intended to maintain equilibrium and thus also all-European security. In no case is the measure aimed at gaining military advantages. Still fully valid are the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, such as the proposal for a treaty on mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Pact, the proposal for limitation and banning of chemical and space weapons, for the freezing and phased reduction of military expenditures, the premier said.

He stressed the importance of the internationalist unity of the socialist countries, on the basis of which it is possible to counter the threat, and to look for ways out of the complicated international situation.

Premier Strougal dealt in the report also with the case of the 20 abducted Czechoslovak nationals who are being held in southern Angola by the organization UNITA.

A year ago, these men were abducted with their wives and children from their peaceful work in the industrial complex Alto Catumbela. The women and children, and some of the men returned home, the release of the remaining twenty men is being sought by Czechoslovakia through all available diplomatic means.

The premier reviewed Czechoslovakia's relations with the socialist countries, said that further expansion of cooperation is being sought with People's Korea, and that friendly relations are deepening with Yugoslavia. There is also progress, even though slower than Czechoslovakia would like it to be, in the normalization of relations with People's China.

Czechoslovakia intends to develop all-round cooperation with Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. It highly appreciates the goals and respects the activities of the Non-aligned Movement which is an important anti-imperialist force, Premier Strougal said.

The countries of the Arab world, with which Czechoslovakia develops relations on the basis of the principles of solidarity and supports their struggle against the aggression of imperialism and Zionism, remain in the forefront of the interest of the Czechoslovak foreign policy.

Fraternal ties link Czechoslovakia with Democratic Yemen. Traditional friendly relations are expanding with Syria, Algeria and Libya, there was a certain upturn in relations with Tunisia and in economic contacts with Egypt, Premier Strougal said.

In Asia, one of the traditional friends is Afghanistan to which Czechoslovakia extends solidarity in its struggle against domestic and external reaction. The good relations with India are being strengthened. Further growth was recorded especially in economic relations with Burma.

On the African Continent, Czechoslovakia is expanding its cooperation with Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and other countries.

In Latin America, Czechoslovakia maintains extensive contacts with Nicaragua, following with solidarity its valiant struggle for national sovereignty.

Czechoslovakia will continue to develop its relations with advanced capitalist states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. It will consistently reject pressure, discrimination and interference in internal affairs, Premier Strougal said.

Relations with Austria have remained on a good level. Czechoslovakia is interested in wider cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany but the

approval by the Bundestag of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles complicated Czechoslovak-West German relations, particularly in the political sphere.

Czechoslovakia maintains traditional friendly relations with Finland, and favourable conditions exist also for cooperation with other Nordic countries.

Czechoslovakia is interested in a deeper political dialogue with France. Relations with this country were marked by greater activity.

Contacts with the Greek Government are on a high level. Czechoslovakia, which has friendly relations with Cyprus, will continue to support its efforts to preserve its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, Premier Strougal said.

There is an upward trend in Czechoslovakia's relations with Turkey. Czechoslovakia is trying to deepen trade exchanges with Great Britain. It was possible to overcome the stagnation in political contacts with Italy, but just as relations with West Germany, Czechoslovakia's contacts with Great Britain and Italy are affected by the deployment of American nuclear missiles the premier said.

In the past several years, there has been an upturn in Czechoslovak relations with Spain, and normalization started in relations with Portugal. The upward trend continues in relations with Japan, especially in the economic sphere.

Czechoslovak-U.S. relations continue to stagnate, because the United States is still using discriminatory measures against Czechoslovakia which restricts the possibilities of broader cooperation, Lubomir Strougal said.

The government report delivered by Premier Lubomir Strougal dealt at length with the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia.

Last year, better economic results were achieved than in the preceding 2 years. The distinct overfulfilment of tasks, both quantitative and qualitative, confirmed the correctness of the economic policy.

National income in 1983 was 526,000 million crowns, i.e. 2.7 percent higher than in 1982. It is justified to expect that in 1984 and 1985, national income will achieve the 3 percent growth envisaged by the 16th Congress of the Communist Party.

Since 1981, Czechoslovakia achieved also several positive results in external economic relations. Trade with socialist countries rose by 11 percent. In this connection, the premier stressed the fundamental importance of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union whose share in Czechoslovak foreign trade is now 44 percent.

Czechoslovakia succeeds in reducing its indebtedness in free currencies, to a greater extent than envisaged in the 5-year plan. Since the end of 1981, Czechoslovakia's debts in free currencies were reduced by a full half. Efforts in this direction--to attain equilibrium in foreign exchange position in the sphere of free currencies--will be continued, the premier said.

ELECTROMAGNETICALLY PROPELLED PROJECTILES VIEWED

Prague ZAPISNIK in Slovak No 3, 1984 pp 24-26

[Article by Martin Tucka and Jaroslav Nemec: "The Electromagnetic Gun--For Military or Peacetime Purposes?"]

[Text] Before gunpowder began to be used in weapons, in the 13th century in China and the 14th century in Europe, there existed only cold weapons, and the precursors of today's classical guns were catapults. The energy which propelled the different objects (incendiary and explosive) into the enemy ranks was provided by the mechanical motion of these catapults.

The invention of gunpowder led to the development of firearms. These utilized the energy of a jet of gases expelled by the combustion of powder confined in a sealed chamber, energy which was transformed into the kinetic energy of a projectile. The cold weapons of past centuries have been replaced by more modern ones: incendiary [shells], rockets, mines, explosives, and nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Guns, along with other traditional types of weapons, have not, however, lost their importance, even with the adoption of the most destructive weapons (nuclear ones) by the armies of the modern world. Conventional artillery has, for example, begun to make use of nuclear munitions.

The 1970's and 1980's have witnessed the arrival of many hitherto unknown and atypical types of weapons, such as cosmic, laser, and antimissile weapons systems, as well as a large number of other weapons.

Among these hitherto atypical types of weapons is a gun which uses electromagnetic propulsion to expell a projectile from its barrel. At the present time, we cannot unambiguously and precisely predict the future utility of the traditional gun. But it is certain that a new type of gun is here--the electromagnetic gun, which has passed the stage of expelling a projectile by a classical chemical reaction and instead provides for firing the projectile by using the energy of a strong electromagnetic field.

The first information on the development of the electromagnetic gun appeared in the world press in the early 1980's. The "Commission for Armament, Research and Development of the American Army" (ARRADCOM) announced in 1981

that over the past year it had been setting up its own laboratory for electromagnetic propulsion. The AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARMY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT reported that electromagnetic propulsion, the strength of which can be expressed in terms of the [number of] revolutions of an electric motor, theoretically has much greater possibilities for rapidly expelling a projectile than the chemical methods used up to now.

Western military experts are considering the possibility of using an electromagnetic method to launch aircraft and heavy massive loads, even to lift them into orbit around the earth.

Electromagnetic propulsion has been under development in a number of countries, for a long time, however, without any particular success. The first results were not obtained until the early 1970's, when an electromagnetic gun was developed in Australia which for the first time succeeded in "shooting." Following this result, similar projects of this type became popular around the world. The results of Australian military research were built on by American scientists. In the late 1970's, workers with ARRADCOM decided to concentrate their efforts on this type of propulsion, and began to work on an electromagnetic project for military purposes, wishing to make full use of all its advantages. Three scientists from ARRADCOM, working in the large-scale weapons systems laboratory, worked out a treatise which they presented at a colloquium on technological trends. This led to a further wave of interest in such technology, attracting the attention of scientists working in the area of military research on electromagnetic propulsion. Such research received a go-ahead in ARRADCOM, including technical resources. The U.S. Army devoted a great deal of attention to this project, and the laboratory of large-scale weapons systems as well as the laboratory for ballistic research continued their experiments. Specialists in these laboratories gradually discovered additional advantages of electromagnetic propulsion.

They determined that it was possible to achieve much greater acceleration than with a classical gun, that the projectile could be of various shapes (for example, it is possible to "shoot" cubes, balls, spheres, rods, etc.) and that the gun itself is easier to build, less demanding of materials, and more reliable, and moreover shoots without revealing its presence and is less vulnerable. It is interesting to note that a projectile expelled by the electromagnetic method can theoretically move at nearly the speed of light, i.e., 299,790 kilometers per second. In reality, however, the speed of an electromagnetically expelled projectile is limited by the material of which the firing device is constructed (for this type of acceleration it must be highly resistant) and by the source of electrical energy.

Experts at the above-mentioned institute have also reported that the energy required for the electromagnetic expulsion of a projectile is in the range of approximately 1 megajoule (MJ), which can be attained at the level of a battery. It is also possible, fortunately, to use a relatively small source of electrical energy which is constantly charged by a large electrical condenser (these cannot be understood as being similar to the components used

in television and radio receivers). These condensers are then, at an appropriate time, briefly connected to the gun which is about to "shoot." Under the demands currently placed on these devices, these condensers are still very large and heavy.

Experts in the USA intend to make use of the possibility of the long range afforded by the electromagnetic method of expelling a projectile primarily for military purposes. This firing device could, however, also be used for peacetime purposes, but the American experts have not yet considered this. Japanese experts, for example, intend to use electromagnetic propulsion in civil transportation. They have already achieved the first applied results in this area.

Will electromagnetic guns launch satellites? Specific information on this topic is to be found in the most recent reports from late 1983. Reports by American scientists on the development of electromagnetic weapons claim that they were constructed primarily for the purpose of launching space ships and satellites into space. Allegedly the first actual launch is to be expected in a few years. Sketches of these projects have been published with the explanation that such a drawing represents the launching of satellites by a gun of this type. The gun which in the late 1970's was still being described as electromagnetic or of the "rail" type, is now being referred to as the space gun.

A model of this technical monster with a barrel length of only 200 cm has been tested successfully by scientists of the American research laboratory in Brockhaven and at a test range in Los Alamos. Using a special camera and computer the scientists determined that when a projectile 5 cm long was "fired" it attained a velocity of 9.9 km/sec, i.e., 35,640 km/hour. This speed approaches the first cosmic velocity of 11.2 km/sec and is many times greater than the muzzle velocity of other guns, such as the antitank projectile of a tank gun and of antitank guns. If we figure that the energy at the point of impact is directly proportional to the mass of the projectile and to its speed, we see that it is possible, even using a very small and lightweight projectile, for a relatively short electromagnetic gun to achieve an equal or greater effect than that of special antitank munitions.

What do electromagnetic guns actually look like? They operate on the same principle as an ordinary electrical motor. The only difference is that the stator (the fixed part) is spread out flat and the rotor (the moving part) is the projectile, which moves along rails. This is the origin of the Western term "rail-gun." Such a device is called a linear motor and it is being considered for use for such purposes as the transportation of people and freight. The stator of the experimental electromagnetic gun consists of a pair of coils alternately connected to a powerful source of electrical current. The passage of this current induces a strong electromagnetic field between the coils, which induces a similar field within the projectile, but of opposite orientation. These fields mutually repel each other, and since the stator is fixed the rotor, or projectile, is set into motion. By alternately switching the current the projectile is constantly "pushed" and

its speed rises sharply. The muzzle velocity is determined by the number of coils on the stator, their length, and the value of the feeding current. It is assumed that when heavy projectiles are expelled a firing charge would be used in addition.

Technicians have calculated that the barrel of a gun capable of putting a 100-ton satellite into orbit must be 7.8 km long. Every such launching requires 76 gigajoules of energy. This much energy can be produced by a large power plant in 2 minutes. The cost of electrical energy for such a launching would be in the range of DM 3,000. Scientists estimate that the overall costs of constructing such a gun would be approximately DM 40 million. Even though this appears to be quite a respectable sum, it is only a fraction of the cost of launching a single carrier rocket or rocket-plane, which can lift at most several dozen tons of payload into orbit.

The idea of electromagnetic guns does not, however, date from the 1970's, at which time it became relevant and gradually came to public attention. It is still older. During World War II military experts thought of using electromagnetic propulsion to facilitate the launching of aircraft from ships. They ran up against a then insoluble problem in that the ships of that period were not capable, even taken together, of producing such a large electrical power input.

And if we were to go still further back into the history of giant guns capable of shooting a charge at a speed great enough for it to escape the earth's pull and to take up orbit around the earth, we would encounter Jules Verne's tale, written in the late 19th century. This is about 100 years ago. We have here an adventure novel of the science-fantasy type which belonged to the genre of today's science fiction tales. Today this is reality.

American scientists are convinced that this idea can be put into practice. They are allegedly searching for a suitable island on which to construct and set up their giant of a gun.

9832

CSO: 2400/244

BRIEFS

SOVIET MISSILE DEPLOYMENT PROTESTED--Prague/Vienna--Students of the Charles University and staff members of the Prague City administration have protested the deployment of Soviet nuclear missiles in the CSSR, according to exiled Czechoslovaks living in Vienna. As early as February, the students appealed to the government to withdraw its consent to the deployment of nuclear weapons. The deployment was criticized at several meetings. Even the party-controlled press is said to have published critical letters to the editor. [Text]
[AU191327 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1300 GMT 19 Mar 84]

CSO: 2400/287

REPORT ON NEW SPANISH CP

AU121825 East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 17 No 3, 1984 p 11

[Report by Juergen Sehler: "Spain--A New Communist Party Founded"]

[Text] Under the slogan "A Party for Changing Society" a "Congress of the Communists' Unity" was held in Madrid 13-15 January 1984 as a result of which the Communist Party was founded (the party's final name shall be defined at a later date). Initiator of this congress was a "National Commission for the Unity of Communists," which had been set up by some Marxists-Leninist organizations in the summer of 1983 in order to prepare their unification. These included among other things, the Party of the Communists of Catalonia, the United Communist Party of Spain, the Movement for Recovery and Unification of the Communist Party, and the so-called Spanish Communist Party (PCE) cells. Those forces were involved that, after the deep crisis of the PCE that went on for many years, had dissociated themselves from the party or had been expelled. By founding the Communist Party they overcame their disunity and linked up in a party that defends the interests of the Spanish workers' class throughout the entire country.

The 825 delegates to the unification congress who represented some 20,000 communists came from all regions of the country. The overwhelming majority of them were officials and members of the Trade Union Center of the Workers' Commissions, a fact that evinces the close affinity between the new party and the industrial and agricultural workers.

Ignazio Gallego, one of the most prominent Spanish workers' leaders who in October 1983 had resigned from his post as a member of the Executive Committee of the PCE Central Committee, on behalf of the preparatory commission delivered the report that was unanimously approved by the delegates after a detailed debate. They also advocated as the ideological platform of the new party political theses in which the most pressing domestic policy and international problems are being analyzed from a class position. The forum adopted statutes that state that the party espouses the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and regards itself as a component part of the international communist and workers movement. In conclusion the delegates elected a central committee comprising 101 members, which at its first session unanimously elected Ignazio Gallego as general secretary.

The capitalist crisis [in Spain] has assumed catastrophic dimensions. Some 17.8 percent of the working people are jobless, the rate of inflation in 1983 was 12.5 percent. To this must be added considerable deficits in both the budget and the balance of payments as well as serious structural crises in industry. Located in a strategically important region, the country cannot remain unaffected by the serious exacerbation of the international situation caused by the policy of the most aggressive quarters of U.S. imperialism and NATO. The objective necessity results from all this--so it is stated in the congress documents--to form a party which conducts a thorough class analysis of domestic and foreign policy situation and mobilizes the Spanish workers class for defending their vital interests. "Our aim is," Ignazio Gallego pointed out, "to arm the workers class, the working people in towns and the countryside, and the peoples of Spain with a genuine communist party that is capable of proposing solutions for the weighty problems afflicting the working people and at the same time of pointing out an alternative to the capitalist system, which is causing the crisis, to unemployment, and to the impoverishment of broad social strata. What is involved is a party that is able to proclaim its alternative, that is, its social project of socialism and communism."

Concerning the assessment of the international situation it was stated in the report to the congress that the danger of war has grown considerably and that world peace is seriously threatened. U.S. imperialism is fanning the arms race with all might, is deploying nuclear missiles in Western Europe, boycotting the negotiations on disarmament, intervening militarily in Central America and the Middle East, and is organizing conspiracies and reactionary putsches. Curbing the arms race constitutes a task which brooks no delay, Ignazio Gallego said, and pointed out that being a communist today implies standing in the front ranks of the defenders of peace. It is in this spirit that the party advocates a policy of peaceful coexistence, neutrality, and nonalignment of the country. To implement these requests the party will organize a broad mass movement whose main slogan is: "No to NATO, Down With the U.S. Military Bases in Spain!" The congress advocated holding a referendum on Spain's NATO membership, something which the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers Party also requested in its election program but which it is now putting off more and more.

The congress supported the peace proposals of the USSR and of the other Warsaw Pact member-states. Proletarian internationalism is an inalienable ideological principle of a communist party. "It was important even at the time when Marx and Engels formulated it. It is much more important today, however, in view of the internationalization of the forces of big capital and in view of the fact that the international class struggle influences the class struggle in each country. Unfortunately we Spanish Communists were forced to go through a sad experience and we know that this is so. And this constitutes another lesson for our history." This clearcut taking of sides in favor of proletarian internationalism does not conflict with the fact that in drafting its policy the party independently and consistently defends the national interests of the Spanish people. It was distinctly expressed at the "Congress on Unity" as a whole that the new Communist Party is working for the restoration of the unity of all Spanish Communists and worthily carries on the proud revolutionary traditions of the past.

According to various Spanish press reports the new Communist Party has formed additional party branches since its party founding congress despite great difficulties and rabid attacks from rightist forces and has taken up the struggle for implementation of the party congress decisions.

CSO: 2300/363

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESULTS OF T-72 GUNNERY, DRIVING COMPETITION REPORTED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 51, 1983 (signed to press 13 Dec 83)
pp 4-5

[Article by Maj Manfred Vogt: "Both Tanks Remain in the Club! Competition Echo from the Neighboring Battalion; in VOLKSARMEE 47/83 the Initiator of Competition of the Ground Forces Challenged the Unglaube Tank Company to a Comparison of Performances. Their Answer Promises a Hot Neck-and-Neck Race--Not only for Two Hotly Contested Trophies"]

[Text] There was no question that they showed respect for the challenger when their fellow regimental Petzold Tank Company publicly challenged them to competition. The challenger's program for "Battle Position Tenth Party Conference" was really something to see. Nevertheless, they too, the members of Unglaube Tank Company, having been challenged to a direct competition, had no grounds for undue modesty. And they were ready to take them on, they announced everywhere--in party group councils, at FDJ and company meetings and when defending their battle plan before the regimental commander.

They want to be a valiant adversary for the neighboring battalion's Petzold Tank Company. They want to equal it in the number of "best" crews. The company commander, two platoon leaders and the first sergeant are likewise fighting for the title which designates the "best." In the proficiency tests, they even want to out the Petzolds--the objective is to beat them by nine victories and to earn three times as many gold trophies. In grades too, they plan on being ahead by one.

But these comparisons of numbers only tell part of the story, because the members of the Unglaube Tank Company have this reply to the challenge: we, the 1st Company of the 1st Battalion, want to come in first in the competition and with our performance grab the "best" title for the company!

A Gold Trophy and Some Second Thoughts

Sergeant Steffen Martens, the FDJ secretary, had announced at the company assembly that "there'll be no changes--the gold (the firing trophy of the People's Army) stays with our club." Bragging? The company commander, Lieutenant Unglaube, had agreed with the 5th service semester tank commander

and had explained how he might use the competition in the training process to promote ambition and to bring out those motor skills which are necessary to become an expert with as complex and ultramodern a weapon system as the T-72. But noncommissioned officer Michael Kroepelin, a tank commander in his second service semester, voiced some worries as to whether it wouldn't be "overly ambitious" to set such goals "with drivers and gunners who are fresh out of school." He would be in favor, he said, of trying to equal the performance of the challenger, since the latter too has tank drivers and gunners in their second service semester. But the expertise which is desirable and which will be required to keep the trophy--that would take more time.

"If we are forced to compete," said Staff Sergeant Ingo Schoen to the tank commander, "the question is not how long everybody has prepared himself for it, but how well." The first sergeant stated that the important thing would be which of the contestants got the maximum performance out of the equipment, who is the first to score a hit with the first round and with all subsequent ones. What is needed, he continued, is, in the words of the Minister of Defense at the Seventh Meeting of the SED's Central Committee, "to attain a level of combat training which will guarantee great combat effectiveness and combat preparedness at any time"--so that anyone planning to launch an aggression against us in earnest would court his certain destruction.

The first sergeant was right. Anyone not agreeing to this would fail to understand the seriousness of the situation. Sergeant Martens demanded therefore that the firing procedure be so thoroughly practiced that there would be neither "a jammed round to be reported nor that the norm elapsed time prior to first round fire be exceeded."

Noncommissioned officer Norbert Witt, a tank commander in his 5th service semester, suggested to the FDJ members that groups be formed according to proficiency, "so that on the one hand the more advanced ones wouldn't have to keep repeating the same thing and, on the other hand, to familiarize everybody with such tricky subjects as the artillery full swivel and the elevation level for indirect aiming." They would be required to score their first hits within the next few weeks; and after all, every gunner had undertaken the obligation of doing so with his first round.

The Green Trophy--and the Difficult Road to the Top

During this meeting of the Unglaube Tank Company, there were strong advocates also for the green trophy, given to the second best tank driver in the regimental competition. The young tank drivers participated in this discussion. One of them, noncommissioned officer Wolf-Peter Wieck, even said that in his opinion "it was a foregone conclusion that the green trophy would remain in the company club." The reason for his confidence, he said, was that the senior comrades "have been most helpful from the very beginning and in every respect."

But noncommissioned officer Uwe Goepfert immediately dampened the tank driver's enthusiasm: "Getting combat experience is not all that easy." In his 6th service semester, the driver of the company commander's tank voiced the thought that the road to the top is a difficult one; and that during the past training semester it had been a hard struggle to get their No 1 rating and trophy, despite all the comradely mutual help. Noncommissioned officer Roland Harnisch agreed with him and also reminded the group that during the present semester the tank drivers are faced with some new tasks--for instance, firing the anti-aircraft machinegun. Also, that there was no way to win the brass ring unless there was intensive sponsorship assistance within and among the crews. For his own part, he stated that during the time remaining before his transfer to the reserve, he would do his utmost to help the company retain both trophies. "But until that time," noncommissioned officer Uwe Goepfert speaks up again, as though he were the group's collective conscience, "there are a number of things that need to be done." He stated that during the course of training he kept noticing a recurring number of small deficiencies which could entail grave consequences. Among them: turning on the glow plug of the preheater for too short a time; this causes the auxiliary engine to run too slowly, thus flooding the preheater with diesel fuel. This could cause a fire. Also: failure to monitor the battery charge at regular intervals or to replenish the compressed air tanks after use could entail an impairment of the operational readiness of the combat-ready armored vehicle. And then noncommissioned officer Goepfert said something that got the attention of many a young tank driver: "Believe me, even I, with my No 1 proficiency qualification, have a lot to learn if I am to get maximum performance out of the T-72. Just knowing how to shift into seven different gears is not enough." He said that he was glad to pass his knowledge on in training and in the technical discussion group, and that he knew that his fellow senior comrades felt the same way. Because basically, he continued, the issue was not whether or not the trophies remained in the company club, but rather an increase in combat efficiency and operational readiness, which would help the company to retain the trophies and which is required to preserve the peace and the life of the peoples of Europe. Enough, he said, has been talked about the weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the enemy...

Side by Side, Competing--Together

"Mount!" orders company commander Lieutenant Michael Unglaube during the tactical crew unit training. The privates and noncommissioned officers show agility in climbing the T-72 and disappearing inside the portholes moments later. "Dismount!" the loudspeakers blare out immediately. The competition to find the top man in complying with norm times has started. The company commander has made the combat vehicles line up, rather than disperse them in the order of battle, as is customary. In this way the performances can be compared side by side--every man for himself. This promotes ambition, points up even minimal differences in proficiency and also the neighbor's better method.

Every element of the training subject, be it loading and unloading enemy aircraft alert or dismounting, is practiced competitively in the Unglaube Tank Company during these training periods; crew teamwork is more quickly achieved this way. Under these conditions, who pays attention to the icy wind and the sleet? In this eager competition, who notices that sweat is breaking out all over? Deficiencies, even the smallest ones, are immediately corrected by the company commander. On one young tank commander's tank for instance, that of noncommissioned officer Kroepelin, the anti-aircraft machine gun does not point exactly in the direction of the assumed approach direction of "enemy" aircraft; in donning protective gear inside the tank it becomes apparent that proficiency is uneven. Shortly thereafter, Lieutenant Unglaube says that "this requires a lot more practice," and gives appropriate orders to the tank commanders. He does this because the 1st Tank Company wants to be No 1 in the competition with the challenger. But this is not the only reason why the company commander relentlessly insists on developing motor reflexes by rigorous training. As far as he is concerned, military expertise is not a matter of the moment. If necessary, it must be proven in combat at all times and under all possible circumstances.

9273

CSO: 2300/357

NEPSZABADSAG BERATES DISSIDENT KONRAD AS HERDER PRIZE RECIPIENT

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Feb 84 p 21

[Text] On Thursday, 16 February, the University of Vienna had sent out the invitations to celebrate the awarding of this year's Herder prizes which will take place on 10 May 1984. From Hungary, Gyorgy Konrad will receive the prize. The other prize winners are: Emilijan Cevc, art historian from Ljubljana; Konsztantinos Diamaras, historian of Greek literature; Karel Holarek, linguist from Prague; Constantin Lucaci, artist from Bucharest; Krasimir Grigorov Mancev, linguist from Sofia and Krzystof Meyer, composer from Krakow.

The name appearing in the above news item, that of Gyorgy Konrad, became known at the turn of the 1960's to the 1970's through his novel entitled "The Visitor" which was an attempt to domestically establish the style of the then fashionable French 'nouveau roman,' evoking both controversy and acclaim. The domestic publication of his second novel "The City Founder" already drew attention for reasons unrelated to literature; meanwhile, its author became one of the leading members of the domestic political opposition who did not even shrink back from spreading his views through the Western, antisocialistic propaganda organs, which they gladly published. Last year, he even attained a certain measure of international fame with the publication of his statement in a magazine in the FRG which caused amazement even in more conservative circles because he made the Yalta agreement responsible for all that he and his ideological fellows in East Europe disliked. It was obviously not irrelevant that he received the dubious honor of being chosen to present the "Freedom Prize" founded by two magazines in Stockholm and awarded to Lech Walesa--for provocative reasons.

So far, the Herder prize used to be a prestigious one in Hungary--because in the public opinion it was mainly associated with Gyula Illyes, Dezso Keresztury and others whose weight enhanced the prestige of the prize. But the current decision by the advisory board of the foundation hardly enhances this prestige. It is obvious that this time they did not honor literary achievement--there are numerous Hungarian authors more outstanding than

Konrad--but rather political gestures directed against socialism and in particular against domestic socialism, and this is hardly in compliance with the original goals of the foundation. Therefore, we can hardly compose our opinion differently than to say that, in this case, instead of being a positive reflection on the receiver, the prize is a negative reflection on the givers.

2473

CSO: 2500/255

NEUE ZUERICHER NOTES NEPSZABADSAG ATTACK ON DISSIDENT KONRAD

Zurich NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG in German 3 Mar 84 p 5

[Text] Awarding the Herder prize to Gyorgy Konrad has led the Hungarian communists to mount their big cannons. Since 1964, the Herder prize has been awarded to literary people, artists and creators of culture from East and South East Europe who have served the cause of promoting cultural relations between East and West. Political orientation plays a secondary role; work and achievement are honored first of all. In the previous year, Geza Entz was selected from Hungary because of his role in the revitalization of the old city of Buda, among other things. It is understandable that that honor did not provoke any disagreement from the ruling body. But simultaneously with Entz, for instance, the Polish historian, Bertoszewski was also awarded the prize; the latter's presentation of more recent Polish history being hardly reconciled with the official historiography. In spite of it, Polish officialdom did not see any grounds for protest. Bartoszewski is no less vigorous in the defense of his interpretations but he is obviously more deliberate in the choice of his mode and means of expression, and he is never wantonly provocative.

A comparable generous stand does not seem to apply to the culture politicians of Budapest in the case of Konrad. The party organ NEPSZABADSAG uses the prize committee's decision as an occasion to chronicle Konrad's mistakes, to question his literary ranking and to criticize the Herder Foundation. Konrad's novels ("The Visitor", "The Accomplice" and "The City Founder") evoked both disagreement and acknowledgement. His style is described as somewhat of a copy of the French 'nouveau roman' despite the fact that, in Konrad's creations, Middle European thinking and feel for life are given expression.

Whether, as stated by NEPSZABADSAG, there are indeed many better Hungarian authors (and thereby more deserving of the prize) can hardly be decided by a political correspondent--although Konrad's literary success in Hungary and in the West cannot be fully considered accidental. The reproach is also voiced on the part of the jury from Budapest that, this time, the decision was based solely on political factors and that this goes against the original mandates of the foundation.

Gyorgy Konrad has lived in the West for exactly two years. He went to West Berlin on a scientific council grant, and he took several trips from there. Even earlier, he made no secret of his political stand; in the broader sense, he counts himself among Hungary's "democratic opposition." What irritates

his opponents in his homeland is evidently the circumstance that, in the West, Konrad found his partisans not around the right side of the political spectrum but among the humanistically oriented left, a group prone to occasional illusions. He could hardly be described as an advocate of the restoration of the bourgeoisie. His views on democracy repeatedly reflect a basic Marxist pattern. Of course, this did not keep him from also giving interviews to bourgeois papers and even to Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. That these radio stations obviously have a greater echo in Hungary than the domestic media could have been the main reason for the wrath of the authorities. Since he left Hungary, Konrad has been depicted as being the actual spokesman of the opposition. It was also unbearable to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party that he characterized Yalta as, in a sense, the beginning of all evil for Hungary and that, in Stockholm, he presented a Freedom prize to the Polish labor leader, Lech Walesa.

Whether the article in NEPSZABADSAG is to be viewed as the last warning to Konrad or whether, in the eyes of the Hungarian party leadership, he already has brought the glass to the rim through the actions mentioned, will be learned when the author returns to Hungary. The presentation of the prize will take place at Vienna in May.

2473

CSO: 2300/329

WALESA'S EFFECT ON U.S. POLICY RIDICULED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by Wlodzimierz Zralek]

[Text] Lately, Radio Free Europe has been trying to convince its listeners that the American foreign policy toward Poland is not determined independently by President Reagan. If one would take seriously the statements of the Munich station which presents itself as best initiated in the political mechanics operating behind Washington's close doors, one could come to the conclusion that the leader of the mightiest power of the Western world precedes every important decision with regard to Poland by questioning his closest advisers: are there any new postulates, instructions, or recommendations from our man in Gdansk?

Such a relationship of dependency between the executor in Washington and the order-giver in Gdansk is suggested by the thesis, propagated by Radio Free Europe, that the announced partial and seeming limitation of the U.S. restrictions against Poland is the result of the recent appeal made by L. Walesa. Referring to an interview which he gave recently to Western reporters, the Munich radio station has stated:

"The chairman of the trade union has said that the decision by President Reagan is a step in the direction which he also supports. At the same time, Walesa remarked that it was he who made the decision in this matter in his December appeal for the removal of sanctions."

So this is how the things are. It is not R. Reagan who makes decisions, and it is not Washington which is the decisionmaking center. In view of the fact that our questioning of the above suggestion could be interpreted as dictated by partiality or bias, we will limit ourselves to doubts expressed by others.

Thus, for instance, the Rome correspondent of the English radio station BBC, Dominik Morawski, reports that in Rome attention is being drawn to the limited scope of the U.S. action as well as to the following facts:

"Questioned here is the motivation underlying these decisions, which indicates a discounting for propaganda purposes of last month's appeal by Lech Walesa. It is being recalled here that the Polish Episcopate, both publicly and in

private contacts, had demanded for over a year that the sanctions be lifted since they inflict harm not so much upon the interests of those in power as upon the people. The same stand has been taken by the pope and the Vatican. Yet, the American Government before now has not taken this into consideration."

So Rome has considered it appropriate to recall that it has been against restrictions not for just 1 month--as in the case of L. Walesa--but for more than a year. In view of these polemics what can Warsaw say?

Perhaps it can only state that the Polish authorities from the very first moment, i.e., for over 2 years, have been demanding the lifting of all American restrictions against our country--a lifting unaccompanied by any political conditions whatsoever.

12207

CSO: 2600/724

RESULTS OF ZIELONA GORA PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Account of Proceedings

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 20 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Yesterday [19 December] the 18th Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference of the Polish United Workers Party deliberated in Zielona Gora.

KW [Voivodship Committee] first secretary Jerzy Dabrowski opened the deliberations on behalf of the outgoing officials and warmly welcomed delegates and invited guests.

Representatives of the central party authorities, including candidate member of the Politburo, PZPR KC [Central Committee] secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and deputy minister of national defense, Gen of Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski, participated in the deliberations. Also in attendance were the representatives of social and professional organizations and allied political parties--chairman of the SD WK [Voivodship Committee], member of the Council of State Henryk Stawski and ZSL WK chairman Czeslaw Slowek.

The delegates expressed their warm recognition of and respect for the veterans of the workers movement invited to the conference. At the opening of the deliberations, they were granted high state honors. Officer's Crosses of the Order of the Polish Rebirth were received by Kazimierz Grudzinski and Jan Palka from Nowa Sol and Knight's Crosses of the Order of the Polish Rebirth were received by Antoni Deszczynski from Zary, Stanislaw Pawlowski from Gubino, Kazimierz Paluszak from Kosierz, Czeslaw Stefanowicz from Zielona Gora and Tadeusz Zolkiewski from Zawada.

Next the conference voted upon the drafts of the agenda, the rules of the deliberations, the make-up of the presidium and the mandates, electoral and motions commissions, according to provisions established during the regional meetings of delegates.

Deliberations were chaired by: Karol Zurawowicz--director of the Seventh LO [expansion unknown] in Zielona Gora, Pawel Buzantowicz--head of ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] in Lubsk, Zuzanna Okuniewska--deputy inspector for education in Swiebodzin and Henryk Maslowski--deputy director of WPHW [Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise].

On behalf of the mandates commission, Wacław Nowakowski--manager of the PGR [State Farms] in Bytnica, attested to the validity of the deliberations. Of the 350 delegates elected to the conference, 347 participated. The absence of the others was valid due to important professional and family reasons.

Jerzy Dąbrowski presented the reports-program paper for the outgoing KW.

The report of the Voivodship Review Commission [WKR] was presented by its chairman, Adam Rolić. He discussed the work of the WKR and of the local echelon commissions, stressing that during the term following the Ninth Congress, the status of intraparty control elements, whose goal is not only to uncover irregularities but also to avert them, to study their causes and to offer friendly advice and assistance in the programming of political activity, has grown considerably.

The chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP], Kazimierz Waskiewicz, discussed the statutory work of the WKKP and local commissions. Control efforts focused on strengthening the ideological-political and organizational unity of all party elements, on the observance of ethical-moral standards and intraparty discipline and on the formation of the proper interpersonal relations and the right cadre policy. The commission works daily with the organs of control in the workplace, having undertaken efforts to battle for economical management and to struggle against the phenomena of waste, incompetence and social pathology.

Next the discussion opened (a discussion of the particular speeches is published on p 4 [Polish text]). During the discussion, elections were held for the PZPR KW first secretary. During the regional meetings of delegates, a variant was adopted for electing the first secretary before electing KW, WKR and WKKP officials. The conference approved this variant. This means that the first secretary is simultaneously a member of the KW and the Executive Board and Secretariat.

The electoral commission nominated only one candidate--Jerzy Dąbrowski--for KW first secretary. He was also recommended by the Politburo. No additional candidates were nominated from the floor.

Voting by secret ballot was participated in by 342 delegates. Jerzy Dąbrowski received 331 votes.

A number of letters and telegrams were directed to the conference bearing wishes for fruitful deliberations. These came from the ZSL WK and SD WK leadership in Zielona Góra, from party organizations and from the management of plants and plant social organizations, including the Świebodzin Farm Works, Zremb in Jasien, the Zary Cotton Industry Plant, Elterma in Świebodzin, DZO [expansion unavailable], the Candle Factory and DIANA in Szprotawa, the Sieniawa Zarska POM [State Machine Stations] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] from Lubsko and Szprotawa.

The conference received warm greetings from the Belorussian Communist Party District Committee in Witebsk, a region we have befriended for years, with which Zielona Góra maintains extensive social and economic ties.

The leadership and the party organizations of over a dozen enterprises sent the conference reports on the effective implementation of economic tasks and execution of this year's production tasks. Reports also came in from the Kunice Glassworks, the Gubin CARINA ZPO [Clothing Plants], the Zary Wool Industry Plant, the Lubuski Furniture Factory of Swiebodzin, the Sulechow DIANA, the Fruit-Vegetable Industry Plants in Wolsztyn and the Timber Industry Plants in Swiebodzin.

Chairman of the Electoral Commission Wiktor Gruca, first secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee] in ZASTAL, presented a social and professional list of candidates for the voivodship authorities. The candidates had been discussed at regional delegates' meetings. The electoral commission announced: 101 candidates for the KW, 27 for deputy KW members, 37 candidates for the WKR and 35 for the WKKP.

In addition to earlier nominations, in accordance with the rules, delegates had the right to nominate an added 20 percent of the candidates from the floor. There were nominations of 15 persons for KW members, 4 comrades for deputy KW members, 4 comrades for WKR members and 1 comrade for WKKP member.

A delegate representing the employees of the Zielona Gora POLSKA WELNA Plant was in attendance during the deliberations. A peace rally was held yesterday [19 December] at this plant, during which a resolution-appeal was adopted, directed toward the residents of the cities and rural areas of the Central Oder Valley. Helena Gozdziejewicz presented it to the conference on behalf of participants in the rally. The resolution condemns the confrontational policies of the U.S. government and the deployment of nuclear missiles in western Europe and calls for a general protest against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe that hangs over the earth. The resolution states:

- "--we express the steadfast will to preserve peace and to save life on earth;
- we believe it our duty to strengthen the front of the opponents of war and to make society aware of the danger of the catastrophe that hangs over our continent;
- with deep anxiety and concern over our fate and the fate of our children and future generations we call for war no more;
- we turn to the worker-peasant class, the intelligentsia, young people and all people to unite in work and action for the benefit of our Homeland of People's Poland and to battle for what is the most precious--the right to live in peace;
- we turn to the participants of the 18th PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Zielona Gora to adopt our resolution as a conference resolution and to deliver it into the hands of Gen of Arms Wojciech Jaruzelski as an expression of our working-class support for actions taken to normalize social life and the economic stabilization of the country, actions taken to maintain the life of societies in peace."

With their warm applause, delegates showed their approval of the peace appeal of the participants of the antiwar rally at the POLSKA WELNA ZPW [Wool Plants].

The conference sent a telegram with wishes for fruitful deliberations to the voivodship party conferences held yesterday in Czestochowa and Biala Podlaska.

There were 21 participants in the discussion.

The final address given during the plenary deliberations was the speech of Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the KC. He addressed several problems discussed in the conference materials and brought up during the discussion. He also noted the major tasks for party work and the major problems of Polish domestic and foreign policy (a discussion of his address will be published tomorrow).

Chairman of the resolutions and motions commission, Krzysztof Kaszynski, WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] scientific employee, submitted draft conference documents:

- a resolution and operational program for the voivodship party organization for 1984-1985 together with the additions suggested during the discussion;
- a resolution in support of the POLSKA WELNA employees' resolution with an appeal for struggle for peace and creative work to pull the country out of the crisis;
- a resolution on celebrating the 40th anniversary of the birth of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].

The conference voted upon and approved these documents.

The list of names of those elected to the authorities--the KW, the WKR and the WKKP--were submitted by the chairman of the returns commission, ZSszG [expansion unavailable] in Babimost director Edmund Modrzyk.

Next the first plenary meetings of the KW, the WKR and WKKP were held.

The conference concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

First Secretary's Speech

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 20 Dec 83 p 3

[Abridged version of speech by Jerzy Dabrowski, PZPR KW first secretary, at Zielona Gora 18th Voivodship Party Conference on 19 December 1983]

[Text] Today we are concluding the reports-elections campaign in the voivodship party organization. The term of its officials that has lasted since June 1981 has come to an end. The period was one in which we underwent and experienced a great deal. It was a time of hard work and political struggle. It was also a test of our powers and of the polarization of attitudes and actions compelled and accelerated by circumstances.

Like no other turning point, the 1980-1983 period taught many valuable lessons and experiences to help the party perform its functions. It helped to change the methods and assumptions underlying the work of our primary elements and echelons. Both in theory and in practice, it caused many new forms of operation to be initiated and implemented in party practice. In the future, these new forms of operation ought to set up an effective barrier against the phenomena that lay at the foundations of the events of August 1980.

These changes also took place in the Zielona Gora voivodship party organization. An assessment of its current state, or even an attempt at such an assessment, is possible only in the context of the broadly conceived political and economic situation of the country.

Let us call to mind the campaigns waged in our voivodship against the party press, the Festival of Soviet Song, the PGR's. Let us call to mind the Glink raid, the Luba Gora case and the attempts to restrict the role of plant and primary party organizations. Let us call to mind the blackmail and terror used against all those that think differently. Many workforces and party members understood the senselessness of these actions and supported actively the actions of the voivodship authorities. Thanks to their support, all of the efforts of extremist groups were a fiasco. We here in Zielona Gora had enough strength to resist every stupidity decisively.

This period of open political struggle helped to integrate the voivodship party organization. Many people, both party members and independents, began to identify with our actions and support them. This made us feel stronger and we were able to act more effectively. We also saw and sensed in most communities the support of and confidence in our undertakings. Only he who has experienced a great deal can tell how much strength this affords and how much satisfaction it brings to party activists.

For this we sincerely thank these people--often nameless--today.

Through this entire stormy period, the voivodship party organization, despite difficulties and obstacles, tried to resolve constructively the most pressing problems in the lives of voivodship residents and workforces. The plenary meetings of the KW and of its executive board outlined the tasks of the voivodship party organization, tying them in not only with the letter and the spirit of the Ninth Congress, but also linking them with an assessment of the changing sociopolitical situation in the voivodship and the country. We did not resort to tactical concessions. We did not yield to shouting or scare tactics. We were and are right.

Despite persistent efforts, the attempts to organize anniversary demonstrations last year and this year did not succeed. Thanks to the attitude of plant workforces and the high degree of active political commitment of party organizations, the soldiers of the People's Polish Army and MO [Citizens' Militia] and SB [Security Service] employees, every day has been, is, and will be a day of calm, work and law and order in the voivodship.

The opposition groups and the publishers and circulators of handbills and slogans still exist but are weaker and are becoming less numerous. They can no longer expect to be applauded. Observing their lamentable activity, often from up close, more and more frequently we hear of the senselessness of this activity. Several days ago, the activities of a group of writers and distributors of enemy literature were brought to a halt at ZASTAL and ZETO. It was learned that those engaging in this activity were division managers earning 30,000 zlotys per month.

Looking from the perspective of time, we can say today that reason has won. Once again the truth has been confirmed that the party is integrating itself into the thick of the battle and it is gaining in strength. Our strength lay in the stance of our members and party organizations, and today's picture confirms our arguments.

Following these experiences, what is the shape of our party organization? What is the balance-sheet of gains and losses? In general, it is certainly better, more homogeneous and cohesive; it works more efficiently, and is more energetic and more seasoned. Its strength depends upon many factors: the views and the activism of members, of primary party organizations, of echelons and of ROPP.

A dominant role is played by party members--by their views, their integrity, their sincerity and their honesty. The increase in quality, however, was attended by a decline of nearly 10,000 members and candidate members. In this regard, we regressed to the year 1975.

During the term 516 candidate members were accepted, including 111 in October and November of this year.

Primary Party Organizations [POP's] decide the implementation of policy and significantly build the party's authority and credibility among society. After the shocks, most of them stood more firmly on their feet; they are a resilient and influential force to be reckoned with in their communities. Some of our POP's do not implement their statutory functions, are not able to take up the issues that plague the community, do not know how to find their place in the new legal situation and do not manage to gather together the working people and gain their cooperation. Sad to say, this situation was confirmed by our checks of most POP's of voivodship level institutions, that, by virtue of their functions, ought to perform a leading and activating role over the local units under their control. A significant part of our plant organizations has not managed to find for themselves a place in the plant and to establish clearcut planes of cooperation with the self-government, unions, the management and the like.

We continue to encounter the return of private interests, cronyism and petty bourgeois greed among part of the management cadre. Party members are involved in some of these unfortunate, shocking incidents. We will do decisive battle against such practices, making use of all the legal possibilities.

One of our primary tasks is to step up ideological work. The actions we have taken thus far still have not produced results. We are aware of the complexity and the long-term nature of these processes and of how much effort they require. On the other hand, we are also aware that in the not-too-distant past, we were weak in the ideological battle against the opposition and that we often were lacking in arguments.

Consequently, we must be more effective in our opposition to ideological indifference and passivity--the attitudes of some of our members. Some of us continue to avoid becoming involved in controversial issues, not to speak of ideological ones. We are unable to defend the party's position and to agitate.

We assign our echelons and organizations the task of creating various kinds of planes for the public identification of members and for the presentation of individual motivations for party work.

In the nature of things, the period of the direct, unpardonable political struggle has shifted the interest and effort of echelons toward supplying members with rapid and exhaustive information. We have achieved much in this field. As the situation stabilizes, however, we note a certain decline in the need for this type of activity. The mass media has taken on most of the duties in this area and is implementing them quite well.

We must change the scope of our informational work. We must place greater emphasis upon commenting on events, upon providing arguments and upon reacting quickly to the questions and demands of POP's.

We must pay particular attention to upbringing and the development of the socialist awareness of children and youth. We have a specific program outlined in the 12th KW Plenum resolution from August of this year. But we must put this program into practice fully and consistently and surmount the wall that we cannot penetrate, both among young people and in party organizations. We are especially disturbed by the continuing organizational shakiness of the ZSMP. This has been spoken of with great concern and anxiety at most meetings and conferences. We are of the opinion that it is worthwhile to consider the proposals for creating a party forum of young people's and youth circles of knowledge about the history of the workers movement and the party, and for similar initiatives.

Culture and its creators also have a vital role to perform in the implementation of the party's ideological program. We dedicated the 13th plenary meeting of our echelon to these issues. Thus, we must take greater pains to see that the sociocultural movement reverts to becoming the primary stimulus behind the cultural life of the voivodship.

The more boldly and the more fully our party places its trust in all people and engages the general public in the solution of common problems, the sooner the social crisis will be overcome.

Our voivodship party organization does not operate for itself. All of its work takes into consideration the broadly conceived interests of the region's inhabitants. Our program is clear and our intentions and political will are obvious. We act openly. We have no secrets. We make revisions in our efforts and we adopt different solutions if they are better ones.

Such a platform is being created by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], to which we are co-signers. PRON is a national understanding, it is a place for all that consider the homeland and its emergence from the depths of the crisis to be their own considerations. That is why we as party members, working in all of its structures, should take the offensive more. We must be more decisive in assuming social tasks and in emerging with initiatives. The 9,000 PRON activists are not many by comparison with the social needs of the region and the tasks that await.

The nearest and the most responsible tasks are the elections to people's councils. The entire voivodship party organization and all its elements must embark upon the preparations for this important battle, from this day forward.

We have begun effective cooperation with the newly created trade unions. We note the systematic rebuilding of class trade unions in our voivodship. This development, however, is not the same in all subbranches and localities.

Among the many questions we ought to address during the conference, the economy is one of the most important ones. This emanates not only from the fact that this topic has dominated the reports-elections campaign, but also from the fact that the problems of reforming the economy and of rebuilding its forces and its level were recognized by our party at its Ninth Congress to be one of the more important political directives. The implementation of this directive is linked closely with the state of the awareness and the political moods of society.

The economy of the Zielona Gora Voivodship is represented by every second Polish freight car, every tenth meter of wool and synthetic wool fabrics, every fifth frozen foods item and every fourth sheet of fiberboard. Thus, we have something to fight about.

The 2-and-1/2-year period of the past term was also a period of real struggle over the economic situation. Many times, we discussed economic problems at the meetings of the voivodship echelon. We adopted a 3-year program of voivodship economic stabilization. This year we waged a battle over the state of production. Today we assert that this battle has yielded definite results.

Between September and October of last year, for the first time in 2 years, the decline in industrial production and construction was halted.

When we assess economic results, we must always be aware of the fact that our point of reference is essentially last year, in which production continued to be below the pre-crisis state. Compared with results for 1980, the level of industrial production, according to estimates for the end of

this year, will still be below 1980 results by 12 percent. We have made progress, however, since last year's decline was set at 21 to 24 percent for the period.

It was not easy to achieve these results. They were the effect of the arduous labor of many thousands of people, of workers' groups and of the management cadre. The workforce deserves the warm thanks of the party. In a number of enterprises, a significant inspirational role has been played by party organizations that have focused the attention of the community on implementing party resolutions and the decisions of the voivodship party-economic conference.

Within a few weeks, the first year of the implementation of the 3-year plan for stabilizing the voivodship economy will have passed. We believe that this is an opportunity for making a preliminary assessment of achievements. In light of materials that have been submitted, we are able to state that the economy of the Zielona Gora Voivodship is returning to its normal course.

An especially positive phenomenon is the increase in sold production, which is higher than the national average. At the same time, it should be noted that this occurred primarily through an increase in labor productivity, since employment declined by 3 percent. In some industries, namely the clothing, electrical engineering and machine industries, as well as in work cooperatives, the increase is more rapid than the voivodship average. On the other hand, the typically market industries--the textile and food industries--cannot reach the desirable growth rate. Government orders have a share in stepping up the growth rate of production. Light industry, which dominates the economic structure of our region, has gone into the additional production of goods valued at billions of zlotys. This includes 250,000 running meters of wool and synthetic wool fabrics, 130 tons of thread, 350,000 pairs of children's and young people's shoes and 20,000 items of outerwear.

There are plants in the voivodship, however, that produce 20 to 30 percent less than they did 3 years ago. Given this, the guarantees in production task plans for the near future become a cause for alarm. Often in factory plans, a 5-to-6-year period is allowed for returning to production levels from the end of the 1970's. What this means need not be explained. In a number of enterprises, the production level from the pre-crisis period has been successfully maintained. These include the Zagan Wool Industry Plant, the Gubin Footwear Industry Plants and LUWENA in Lubsko.

We are aware of problems in producer goods management due to the manpower shortage. But where raw and other materials exist, special incentives must be used repeatedly. Often these destroy the proportions between labor productivity and emoluments, just so that potential is utilized.

One cannot count on a sudden improvement in the labor market. The only chance is a real shift to methods of intensive management, the activation of the labor resources we already have. This also means a shift in the employment structure. In the Zielona Gora FALBAZA and NOVITA Plants, employees directly involved in production represent only 27 percent of all employees, while at ZASTAL, they represent 32 percent.

We are assigning a task to party members that perform leadership functions in plants, that are active in employee self-governments, to take a more careful look at plant production plans for next year. In the 1984 assumptions, central planners set the production increase at 4.5 percent to 5.5 percent. This index is the minimum for all enterprises in our voivodship.

In analyzing the preliminary proposals, we note a tendency toward dangerous minimalism. An example is light industry, so important from the viewpoint of market and export production. It projects a slower production increase than emanates from the assumptions of the 3-year plan.

We propose that party members--WRN [Voivodship People's Council] councilmen--initiate an in-depth analysis for the implementation of the 3-year plan for stabilization of the voivodship economy.

The field of the economy that always generates the most discussion (and did so during the reports-elections campaign as well) is housing construction. More than three-fourths of the people that turn to us to intervene are awaiting an improvement in often tragic housing circumstances. The housing situation is one we know from more than statistics. In the face of tremendous needs and problems, primarily those of young families, we must note the signs of definite progress. This year, 24 percent more residences will become ready for occupancy than were readied last year.

Progress on building projects is good. We see this as an opportunity for further progress next year. The creation of small housing cooperatives engenders hope for the systematic improvement of the situation. Twenty-two such cooperatives have arisen. The patronage of the ZSMP over housing construction has also had its effect. Already more than 500 families have used this route to acquire their own residences.

We have a housing construction program through 1990 that was adopted by a WRN session. It projects the construction of at least 3,000 units annually. But the obstacles retarding the progress and the personal initiative of people waiting for housing are eliminated too slowly.

The need for general repairs to old housing is becoming more and more urgent. This is a reserve of which we must take advantage, making use of the activism and ingenuity of tenants.

In the process of ordering investments, we note the disturbing phenomenon of the so-called extension of fronts. Despite the fact that tasks have been specified for completion, we see contractors fleeing from difficult investments and delaying them. We note the Wolsztyn Milk Plants, the Chipboard Panel Factory in Zary and the waste treatment plant in Swiebodzin. In spite of the decisions, and in spite of their obvious meaning, these have been monuments to clumsiness and inefficiency all along. In some cases they are a mockery. We believe that it is time for the public prosecutor to deal with these problems.

Food production is an important topic of party interest. We observe a certain barrier in the consciousness, not only of farm producers, but also of all those

that affect the level of farm production, directly or indirectly. Often opinions circulate about unstable farm policy, while it is not noted that, despite the still existing shortages, the number of basic means of production continues to grow. That is why an intelligent political offensive of all party elements in cooperation with the ZSL is needed in rural areas.

We should be aware of the fact that, under current conditions, our basic duty is the more rational utilization of the production potential already possessed by agriculture. Problems of prime importance in the voivodship are, above all: rational land management and the balancing out of the fodder balance.

Society expects us to increase food production. The attainment of the necessary increase is tied in with eliminating the disproportion that has existed in recent years between the level of fodder production and the level of livestock production. In the voivodship, the past 3 years was a period of adjusting the number of head of livestock to our own fodder potential. The effect was a decline in cattle by 62,000 head and a decline in hogs by 112,000 head.

Beginning in 1984, a constant increase in the number of head of livestock is a major task for our agriculture. It is a realistic task that emanates from the considerable improvement in fodder production this year.

We can be confident about the results of the management of PGR's. With only a few exceptions, the economic and production results achieved during the reform period gave the lie to the many accusations and myths surrounding this agricultural sector. It became a stable producer of food in the voivodship.

The voivodship echelon will continue to attribute key importance as well to farm-food processing and warehousing, to the [text illegible] economy and to the timber industry.

The growth rate of the monetary earnings of individuals continues to be higher than the supply of goods and services. Thus, we have queues and shortages of the most sought-after items. The insufficient production of goods leads to widespread socially objectionable phenomena and criminal-type actions.

Given all the circumstances, we demand from trade and services much better efficiency, more concern for consumers, higher standards and the elimination of tension-producing situations.

A significant part of the market, including almost the entire food market, is organized according to cooperative principles. Given the kind of market we have, should not the idea of cooperatives become the foundation of the real defense of consumer-cooperatives? In actuality, the consumer cooperative is an insignificant facade.

The decline in product quality and the increase in repairs of faulty goods carrying guarantees are thorny problems. Producers try to cheat customers rather than improving quality. Zagan's POLAR Plant is an example of this.

This producer of frozen foods, in order to reduce the costs of guaranteed repairs, shortened the guarantee period from 2 years to 1 year. This is a typical example of shifting the costs of production incompetence to the consumer. There are many such cases.

We are confronted with the concealing of reserves, with laying blame and seeking assistance from outside plants and with the treatment of costs-cutting programs as a mere formality. As proof of this we have the negligible use of secondary raw materials compared with the potential.

Today's 18th Voivodship Conference concludes the reports-elections campaign in all elements of our party. All meetings and conferences were marked by social and political maturity. Concern over the problems of the community and over the activism of the local party organization dominated discussions. There was also much discussion of intraparty problems.

In distinction from the previous campaign, a positive phenomenon this time was the general departure from making new proposals and motions to assess and implement previously-voiced proposals and motions.

One of the important experiences undergone by the party during the past term is the increase in sensitivity to all phenomena that strike out at the moral principles of socialism. The operation of the Social Security Administration [ZUS] is an unpleasant and often-discussed issue. Those people that make use of its services are right to complain about its delays, confusion and poor service of clientele.

There is a universal demand for the reform of the greediness of a part of private initiative and a general outcry against the phenomena of the drive for accumulating wealth at any price and for living at the expense of others. People are becoming annoyed with the mushrooming of small shops and stalls that have control organs visiting them time and again to root out the guilty and fine them.

All legalizing decisions are issued by our offices, often by party members and are overseen by the party organizations in operation there. Meanwhile, there is not one meeting where this situation is not criticized. It is time to draw conclusions, to use all the powers of offices, Treasury Bureaus, the State Trade Inspectorate and the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control]. It is time to bring the phenomenon to justice.

We are entering the new term with a high degree of political mobilization of the voivodship party organization. It is indispensable that we maintain, and even increase this mobilization in view of the tasks and political campaigns that await us.

Next year we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. The 13th KC Plenum adopted the assumptions for commemorative celebrations. What we do for this occasion will have a very broad scope and will encompass many of the fields of our life.

This anniversary is of special significance to us--the inhabitants of the Central Oder valley. It precedes the 40th anniversary of the return of western lands to the motherland. Here, on our lands, one sees clearly the achievements of the 40 years of People's Poland. Here our forefathers laid the foundations of Polish identity, our brothers built modern factories and organized modern farming. Today, already the third generation, on the material base created by its predecessors, is updating its qualifications professionally; it is studying and working. Let Zielona Gora be an example of these achievements: in 1945 it had one-fourth its present population of over 100,000.

Thus, we have a special right to say that this is the achievement of our generations, Polish generations. No one handed us this for free. It was won by the bloodshed of the soldiers of the People's Polish Army and the Red Army, and was built by the hands and minds of our Zielona Gora workers and engineers, born and educated here.

No one has the right to take this away. Imperialist forces with the United States at the head are stepping up the arms race, aiming to undermine the peaceful law and order that the peoples of Europe have enjoyed for nearly 40 years. Revisionist and retaliatory forces in the FRG ride the wave of militarism, questioning our borders. They are stepping up the attack against our country that has lasted for a number of years. We say--no. Our borders are inviolable and peace on earth must be preserved.

The opinions and thoughts expressed here do not cover all of the problems that we have had to address in our everyday party work. Not everything succeeds for us. Mistakes are not only made by those that stand on the sidelines and assume no responsibility, make no decisions and are accountable for nothing and do not wish to be held accountable. It is not empty statements and declarations but the daily creation of concrete facts that confirms that we are unyielding in our efforts to improve things, that convinces people that this is their system, their authority.

The bitter truth of the past few years shows us that it is very easy to mouth slogans and to make public disturbances. But it is much more difficult to make a sober analysis of possibilities, to make the right decisions, to will rationally and to use real opportunities for overcoming difficulties and obstacles. For us, two tasks are the most important today: wise and productive work in the economy and political wisdom in public life. We shall execute these tasks.

Conclusion, Executive Board

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 21 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, the 18th PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Zielona Gora elected the new officials of the voivodship party organization.

On the evening of 19 December, the KW, the WKR and the WKKP assembled for the first plenary meetings.

The KW elected a 19-member Executive Board and KW Secretariat. The list of names is given below.

The WKR reelected Adam Rolicz chairman. Elected to the Presidium were: Eugeniusz Andrzejewski, Eugeniusz Blazejewski, Stanislaw Gorniak, Eugeniusz Lewandowski, Grzegorz Marciniak and Marta Zaleska.

Kazimierz Waskiewicz was reelected chairman of the WKKP. Elected to the WKKP Presidium were: Maria Galek, Boleslaw Kaprykowski, Stanislaw Kobzda, Kazimierz Kowalik, Jerzy Krupa and Maria Siatecka.

Following the election of authorities, the conference resumed deliberations. At its conclusion, KW first secretary Jerzy Dabrowski took the floor. He sincerely thanked delegates for the confidence they had placed in him and in the other comrades they had elected to responsible party positions. The officials may not betray this trust, that is simultaneously the mandate of the 40,000 members of the voivodship party organization. Thus, we must use all our powers and all our energies to implement our assigned tasks. They are realistic tasks that we can perform and surpass if we work and act reliably and solidly every day. This must be our concern and our desire.

PZPR KW Executive Board in Zielona Gora

Jerzy Dabrowski--PZPR KW first secretary
Aleksander Borysiewicz--MO voivodship commander
Marian Cudak--foreman at the Krosno Odrzenski KROMET Plant
Roman Czolhan--PZPR KW secretary
Lidia Framm--brigade leader at the Sulechow DIANA ZPD
Hubertus Gabriel--director of the Swiebodzin Sanitary-Epidemiological Station
Boleslaw Galent--farmer from Jelenina gmina, Zagan
Helena Kaszuba--director of the Zielona Gora CHEMIA PHCh [Chemical Trade Enterprise]
Krzysztof Kaszynski--director of the WSP Social-Political Sciences Institute
Kazimierz Klarecki--forest inspector from the Lipinki Luzyczne Forestry Inspectorate
Walerian Mikolajczak--Zielona Gora voivodship governor
Zbigniew Nieminski--PZPR KW secretary
Jozef Oldziejewski--director, Kozuchow PGR
Danuta Piwko--PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary at the POLSKA WELNA ZPW
Zbigniew Pietkiewicz--director of the Zielona Gora Press Publishers
Tadeusz Roksela--director of the Zagan Wool Industry Plants
Jan Rubaszewski--PZPR KW secretary
Zygmunt Stabrowski--PZPR KW secretary
Andrzej Sieradzki--first secretary, PZPR City Committee in Zielona Gora

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POLITICIANS, JOURNALISTS DEBATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 3, 18 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Wieslaw Bek, Wieslaw Gornicki, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, Zdzislaw Morawski, Janusz Roszkowski]

[Text] At the end or the beginning of a year it is customary to review accomplishments and failures. It is natural to call attention to what has been done and what has been successful. For the future, however, it is more important to discover what the old year brings to the new. With this thought in mind, we asked a number of politicians and journalists the following question: What have we failed to accomplish in 1983, and what must be done in connection with this in 1984?

Wieslaw Bek, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU

Unfinished tasks. There are still too many of them, and surely the editors do not want us to make a long list. Besides, what purpose would that serve? To find out our opinions of the tasks awaiting us? But in what time frame? One year, 2 years, the 1980's? Thus, I can only infer from the editors' questionnaire--"Unfinished Tasks and Tasks to Carry Out"--that we have to point out the problems we consider to be the most important ones today, here and now. And surely we will concur in our opinions, because these problems bother all of us. We have not yet resolved those which are connected with economic difficulties, the living conditions of many, many families, and everyday delays. But could we have done this in such a short time--scarcely 3 years?

We were really on the very bottom, and yet some people were rubbing their hands with satisfaction, because they state: "The worse it is, the better it is." This is a disgusting slogan, which cannot be found in any opposition program in the West: the destruction of one's own economy. We must remember this when we speak of unfinished tasks.

To overcome the economic crisis as quickly as possible and to bring about a socialist revival of the country by uniting honest Poles around the programmatic goals of the Ninth Party Congress is a task that is as urgent as it is ambitious. It is the most important task to be carried out. We have already covered a lot of ground in this direction.

Unfortunately, we will be hampered by the international situation, which is becoming dangerous. The arms race, the deployment of new missiles in the western part of the European continent, the suspension of arms talks between the superpowers, the difficulties deliberately created in international trade, and propaganda attacks--all this does not augur well for genuine detente in 1984. Yet it is detente that determines the international climate, which affects the domestic affairs of every country, especially when times are hard and the economy requires regular deliveries of raw materials and open markets. Thus, there is an important problem to be resolved in the world: to give nations the certainty of peace and of safe existence. We need not mention those who are striving for this goal with their foreign policy and numerous disarmament initiatives, and those, on the contrary, who are interested in maintaining tension and conflict. The facts and their chronology give convincing proof of this.

We Poles are not sufficiently aware of the danger to peace. Is this due to the belief that we are protected by the military might of the socialist bloc, or to an underestimation of the trend of world events? For no one can deceive himself that missiles will "fly overhead" if fighting breaks out.

Peace, tranquility and revival (social, economic, moral) are three "tasks to be carried out," to use the editors' term. The mass media have a useful and necessary part to play in carrying them out. We must undertake these tasks courageously and responsibly, in accordance with the party program. Nothing is achieved by equivocation and ambiguity. I include this theme in my answer for only one reason--because I am a journalist myself.

Wieslaw Gornicki, adviser to the chairman of the Council of Ministers

Last year I would have seen two such tasks. The first concerns the psychoeconomic sphere. Our technological backwardness lies not only in under-investment in one field or another, but simply in a lack of skills developed over several generations. It seems to me that in the sphere of economics, broadly conceived, we have not yet attained proper insight, understanding. In a nutshell, one can say that this is the principle: "Rely on your own resources, do not count on your friends or your enemies." Yet many people involved in economic activities--both managers and workers--are counting on a miracle. The differences lie only in the nature of the miracle. Some are counting on royal protection, and surely I need not explain what kind of monarchy they want. Others believe that one day the government will loosen its purse strings and pour out money, to lay pavement or to pave a square, for example. It is not necessary to convince me that a well-functioning economic mechanism is the best teacher. I was hoping that the beginnings of economic reform would be a clearer signal of this breakthrough.

The second problem is the lack of progress in improving our international business. Only now has it come to light that our economy was dependent, in practically a quasi-colonial fashion, on a vast quantity of imported equipment and parts....I do not want to come out here as a spokesman for autarky, but on the other hand I believe we are too slow in drawing conclusions from all this. I am not speaking here of the government, since it is

fully aware of this; I am referring to low-level economic organizations and academic circles, to be frank. I would not want to be misunderstood: I am not calling for a break with academia as a whole...But some new, more independent type of thinking is the only possible future for our academic community.

I think that 1984 will be a year of real progress in these two fields, with the possible exception of the first one, but this is a matter of educating a whole generation in economics. But my positive prognosis is dependent on one great question mark: the development of the international situation. There is no concealing the fact that it is not good. I remind you that not only fortune-tellers but also Buddhist monks predicted the end of the world on 11 September, unless--and I hope this "unless" will come true--100 billion prayers will be said. It seems the monks are close to fulfilling the plan....

Col Boguslaw Koloziejczak, director of the Office of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee

Only in bookkeeping is a year a self-contained whole. In social and political life the end of the year does not end anything. Processes of change in the material life of people and in their consciousness--both processes that are consciously directed and those which are spontaneous--do not conform to the calendar but have their own rhythm. Any review of a given year must necessarily be arbitrary. I have to qualify my answer to the editors' question with this preliminary remark.

The year 1983 in our country was another year for implementing socialist reforms, the program for which was laid out by the Ninth Party Congress and by the resolutions of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee. The past year proved that the process of reforming the economy and state and social structures is not simple and easy.

We are rebuilding our social life by combating the political adversaries of socialism. We are winning more and more support for our program, and social understanding is increasing. The policy of struggle and understanding is a lasting one, requiring consistency and patience.

Implementation of the reform program is also encountering the resistance of old customs, habits and routine. The comprehensive provincial monitoring systems instituted last year, and the experiences of the local operational groups, showed how much red tape and indifference to people's needs there still is in the work of our various institutions, and how often we still have to contend with neglect of duties, irresponsibility, inefficiency and lack of concern for public property.

Last year we were unable to effect a major change in our way of reacting to criticism of the activity of public services, enterprises and institutions. Criticism too often provokes defensive reactions. Energy that should be directed towards improving the situation is wasted in organizing actions to rebut criticism, in confusing simple issues and in window-dressing activity.

Strengthening the feeling of responsibility in every position, molding thought in categories of the state and public service, uncompromising struggle for justice in every field, and the fight against particularism and selfish individualism are certainly important tasks for 1984. More than that, they are the constant tasks of party members and the field of activity for trade unions, self-management bodies and public organizations. Institutions of socialist democracy should become permanently active local operational groups.

We have not yet broken the habit of using the word "crisis" as an incantation that is supposed to explain all failings and inconveniences in life, even those which result from ordinary bungling, from institutional inefficiency, and from the laziness, indolence, unscrupulousness and incompetence of people. This year we should do away with this incantation and clearly distinguish the real manifestations of crisis from what is the result of misdoings, poor work and carelessness.

We did not make enough progress last year in developing a social order that would embody the generally accepted norms of communal life and in which interpersonal relationships would be based on a feeling of human and civic dignity and on respect for others, for elementary obligations toward one's milieu. Hostility, rudeness, unscrupulousness, drunkenness and filth are unfortunately not a rare occurrence in our public life. I do not expect quick, spectacular effects in the fight against social pathology, since public resistance to this evil is still too weak. It is up to us whether we will be able to say in a year that we are living more decently and that we are worthier citizens.

People of my generation are concerned about the problems of the younger generation of Poles, about the difficulties they face when they start upon a career. This concern is manifested in various forms, which may sometimes get distorted into overbearing paternalism or into particularly severe demands. Partnership between the generations should be expressed in acknowledgement of the full civil rights of the young, but also in the demand that they discharge their civic obligations. Young people are particularly sensitive to values, above all to conformance of word and deed and to social justice. This sensitivity cannot be made light of, much less destroyed. I would even say that it would be good if people of the older generations could rise to that level of sensitivity which is characteristic of the young. At any rate, we should understand and respect this particular characteristic of youth. The year 1984 offers young people new possibilities of independent, responsible and full participation in public life. Elections to the people's councils are going to be held. It is there, and also in factory self-management bodies, trade unions and tenants' self-governing organizations that "angry young men" are necessary. It is precisely there that their natural talents should be used.

I have mentioned only a few of the unresolved problems remaining from last year. There is a great number of tasks we must continue to work on or undertake; they are set forth in party resolutions and governmental decrees. I would like to point out that a mechanism for evaluating the implementation

of resolutions, decrees and programs is being introduced systematically in the operations of the party and of state organs. The work of this mechanism consists of the precise definition of tasks and accountability. We can therefore hope that this time correct resolutions, worthwhile initiatives and valuable proposals will not remain on paper or disappear in a sea of words, but will bring the intended and expected results.

In reviewing 1983 and considering plans for 1984, we obviously cannot limit ourselves to the problems of our country. Polonocentrism is one of those bad mental habits that we have failed to eradicate, even last year. In international relations, the past year has left a bad legacy. The American administration has brought the world into a new, very dangerous phase of the arms race. The number of wars, conflicts and trouble spots in the world has not decreased. The return of the United States to a policy of interventionism and destabilizing the balance of power has exacerbated conflicts in many regions. One element in the policy of confrontation is the deceitful propaganda campaign that is directed again us, against socialism. Even certain leaders and important politicians in Western states are taking part in it. All this greatly complicates the international situation, threatens peace and makes it difficult to return to the path of negotiations and dialogue. The wish to preserve peace, however, is demonstrated so clearly by various peoples, and is so strong and universal, that we can hope that the dangerous trend of confrontation will be halted this year. May the conference on building trust, which is just now beginning in Stockholm, contribute to the process of detente.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, here as a guest columnist

What is the idea of a "list of unfinished tasks and tasks to carry out"? Are we to begin the new year with such a thing? A suicidal notion! It is not enough that sundry "suspicious heresies" at variance with "reality" have been published in this space; now, instead of opening the readers' eyes, you are pulling the wool over them.

That is not enough for you? Would it not be better to give some sex, some porno with a calendar for the beginning of the year? It is hard to notice that a naked broad would pass more easily than the naked truth? But since there has to be a list, boring and critical, it is better to give a list of hits! Even children will buy this issue.

Would it not be more proper for everybody to make his own list, for his own recollection. That is more convenient than wearing a string around your finger. Why come out with this publicly right away? People are concerned now about various things, and everyone has something different to "carry out."

I heard someone say that he had had enough of that Polish-made junk from the FSO [passenger car factory] and that he simply must get something decent, preferably a Volvo or Mercedes; not even the color matters, so long as he gets one. The neighbor is cursing because his kid filled half the cellar with paper for recycling, and the collection center will not take it. He

says such reform is a lot of crap, since there is no toilet paper. "Reforms are also hard to buy," chimes in a woman neighbor.

Do you know what someone who has been trying to get his own place for half his life will tell you about "unfinished tasks"? Or ask the mother-in-law of an acquaintance of mine; she will mention the public health service first of all. No, you had better not ask, you will do in the old lady completely. Everyone knows, of course, that the public health service has done in more than one person.

Something horrible has happened to these public services. The railway protection service, for example, instead of protecting freight, is doing precisely the opposite. The traffic service is effectively blocking the streets by directing cars in places with no-parking signs (check this out in Warsaw). The farm service has a low opinion of the farmers; and you need to be in the pink of health to cope with the health service, etc.

Do not tell me that this is all because 40 years ago servants left the kitchen for the parlor. Quite the contrary; they became discouraged unnecessarily.

As a guest on the radio program "Signals of the Day," I received a call from a worker who did not introduce himself, because he considered that unimportant, but what is important is that little is being done to keep workers in the production sector. They are happy to leave the factory for an office: it is clean and warm there, the pay is better, and it is more comfortable sitting behind a desk than standing in front of a door. If this process continues, only office workers will be left. And without manual laborers and production it will be impossible to climb out of the pit. In the meantime, most workers are earning extra money by working for local gardeners, at construction sites or in private workshops. Overtime in one's own enterprise or in a state project does not pay well enough. We could pay more, but only to outside contractors.

A close acquaintance of mine, an economist, explained to me what he thought was saddest of all: he said that if an enterprise successful a year ago did worse next year than a similar but worse enterprise that rewards incompetence or idleness, even socialism would not be able to take this for long.

Finally, there are those whose task it is to finish off socialism itself. Some are deliberately undermining it from below, from the underground. Others thoughtlessly and overzealously want to talk it to death. Hence all this chatter, verbal diarrhea, moralizing and political sermonizing, which has never and will never accomplish anything. We are going to do ourselves in with verbal masturbation; this will cost some people more dearly than others, whether we govern ourselves or let others do it for us, whether we elect unanimously or consider issues from all sides, etc. Excuse me...I forgot: that my wife told me to do my chores by tomorrow.

Zdzislaw Morawski, editor-in-chief of ZYCIE WARSZAWY

In relation to great state, national and international issues a year is a short and very arbitrary period of time. I do not believe it would be

possible to resolve an important issue definitely in this short period, so that something might either succeed or fail completely.

With this qualification I reply: we have not succeeded in averting the cold-war trend in international relations, above all in East-West relations. They have become worse, as we can see particularly well from the present deployment of new missiles. We have failed to thwart NATO's plans in this area, and we have failed to reach an understanding. We are all paying for this with the incalculable but real danger of nuclear conflict. I hope that President Reagan, the person most responsible, will pay for this in this year's electoral campaign.

In our country we have failed to achieve the understanding necessary for us. This important, basic issue has been given priority, but polarization, sharp, bitter divisions, vindictiveness, extremisms, and ostracism not of the adversaries -- paradoxically -- but of the supporters of reasonable understanding have occurred and continue to occur. The blame for this lies with all of us, not excluding the press, radio and TV. We must draw conclusions as quickly as possible, although I am aware that the great cause of understanding, of awakening part of the public from their fantasies and overcoming hatred, is not a problem that can be resolved in one fell swoop, in one year, once and for all. Nonetheless, a feeling of dissatisfaction with this matter persists.

Finally, among the many things we failed to accomplish, one of the most harmful phenomena I notice is the persistence of the trend in the economy to obtain profits by raising production costs, and thus prices, rather than by increasing output and efficiency. The correct, necessary reform in this area, which has already brought its first results, has led to "side effects" in the form of "easy money" in enterprises. This, in turn, has an inflationary effect on the market. Prices must of course be changed, but we have not been able to create sufficiently effective anti-inflation mechanisms. I hope that the trend to replace such mechanisms with a system of centralized management and distribution will not prevail. There is no lack of nostalgia in this direction.

Janusz Roszkowski, chairman and editor-in-chief of PAP

If we take the real facts as our point of departure, and if we base our projections on a sober analysis of the existing system and its developmental trends, we can obtain a rough idea of future possibilities. When we look into the future in this manner, 1984 arouses both hope and concern.

Our hope is based on the situation in Poland at the beginning of the year: the positive effects of our anticrisis measures in the economy and of simultaneous reform, which is entering a more advanced phase and which we are trying to implement in spite of all the difficulties. But contrary to what some people say, the Polish problem is not being resolved solely in the economic sphere. The other sphere, perhaps the more important one, is the state of social consciousness, which in contemporary society plays a tremendous role. In this regard we have made some progress, though perhaps not yet enough for the needs of our people, who are burdened with various difficult

problems inherited from the period before August 1980 and the period before December 1981. Anybody who is capable of rising above emotion, which usually distorts the image of reality, and above prejudices, which are often understandable, anybody who is able to give up the position of sterile negation, which is a comfortable position (though decked out in the guise of martyrdom) because it does not obligate one to engage in concrete activity, and who is willing to be guided by the higher interest, will see that the facts are confirming more and more the correctness of General Jaruzelski's policy. We are not restoring outmoded or rejected policies, after all, but consistently implementing the program laid out by the Ninth Party Congress. The year 1984 should thus bring a decisive advance in this field. And that is important, because time is short. Every day of wasted potential is an irreparable loss, since other members of the international community are hastening to their national goals, sometimes at our expense. Awareness of this will surely promote a more rational view of our national affairs and thus become an important factor in our progress.

Our concern is connected with world events, and of course--since everything functions on the principle of linked vessels--with matters of relevance to our country, which in the last few years has been looked upon by important forces as a possible prize for the West in its confrontation with the socialist East.

The confrontation strategy of the American administration, which (through understandable mechanisms) enlists the support of NATO members, the intensifying arms race, and the creation of so many trouble spots (and efforts are still being made to turn Poland into one) all show that the peoples of the world have good reason for concern at the beginning of 1984.

This concern, however, is expressing itself more and more in a great social movement, which is becoming a phenomenon of our times. After all, there are millions of people taking part in vehement demonstrations against new weapons! The belief is spreading that now, with massive stockpiles of nuclear weaponry, the stake is no longer war as such but something greater, much greater--annihilation, universal destruction. Destruction of everyone and everything! Thus, despite the dangers connected with the confrontational trend characterizing the entry into the new year, it [1984] will surely bring an even greater response to the worldwide disarmament campaign, ensuring for the cause of peace a degree of public support unprecedented in history!

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RESULTS OF SZCZECIN PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 23 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article: "Twentieth Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the PZPR in Szczecin: The Party Passed a Difficult Test"]

[Text] The 20th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] was held in Szczecin last Saturday. It reviewed the 2 and 1/2-year term of the Provincial Committee and made an assessment of accomplishment of the socioeconomic tasks outlined by the party at the Ninth Congress and by the 19th Reports-Elections Conference of the PZPR. A new plenum was elected for the PZPR Provincial Committee, the Provincial Audit Commission, and the Provincial Party Control Commission. On the basis of recommendations made during the reports-elections campaign and the large body of material accumulated during discussions, a resolution was adopted in connection with the new term of service of the provincial party authorities.

Part was taken in the proceedings of the 20th Provincial Party Conference by 329 delegates representing the party organizations in industrial plants, agriculture, and the maritime economy, that is, all the social milieus of the region and city.

Invited guests attended the proceedings. They were Kazimierz Barcikowski, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Brigadier General Henryk Kondas, deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District; Kazimierz Cypryński, head of the PZPR Central Committee Organizational Department; Eugeniusz Dobrzyński, member of the PZPR Central Audit Commission; Jerzy Korzonek, minister and head of the Office of Maritime Economy; and Brigadier General Henryk Szumski, former commander of the 12th Mechanized Division.

Also attending were official representatives of the provincial political parties: Ryszard Szunke of the United Peasant Party Provincial Committee and Adam Rozyło of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee, as well as Provincial People's Council Chairman Edward Kmietek and PRON Provincial Council Chairman Professor Waldemar Grzywacz.

In advance of the conference, analytical materials reflecting the current condition of the party and containing an assessment of the economy of the

province were handed out to the delegates. Especially extensive materials were contained in the "Report of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Szczecin for the 1981-1983 Term." The delegates received copies of the program of events commemorating the 40th anniversary of return of western Pomerania to the Mother Country and of an analysis of the socioeconomic situation in the province over the 1980-1983 period. These documents, along with the report by the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee delivered at the conference by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, made up one of the basic themes of the far-ranging discussion.

"We are summing up a 2 and 1/2-year term of service of the party provincial organization, a term marked by struggle to defend the socialist state and preserve the attainments of Poles," stated St. Miskiewicz in his presentation of the report of the Provincial Committee Executive Board prefacing the discussion. "It was a period in which the party, we ourselves, the strength of our devotion to our ideology, and our organizational efficiency were subjected to an extremely difficult and often dramatic test. We all passed a difficult test. We also passed it when we presented a constructive program for emergence from the crisis, a program of effective socialist renewal and national understanding formulated and approved by the Ninth Party Congress. We created conditions for continued operation of the state and restored efficiency to the economy. We are introducing a democratic system of exercising power and from day to day are coping with difficulties as they come up."

Summing up the last few years, St. Miskiewicz stated that "the increasing brutality and aggression toward the socialist state and our party was ended by martial law, which protected our country from the tragedy of civil war and eliminated a potential threat to postwar harmony in central Europe. The soldiers and officers of the Polish People's Army and members of the Civic Militia were in the front line of defense of our state and national survival."

Going on to a discussion of current tasks in the economic sphere, St. Miskiewicz said: "To do good work is to receive a positive response to the question of how we are doing and what steps we are taking on behalf of workers."

"In effect, we have achievements to our credit. In rating the implementation of the resolution of the 19th Provincial Conference we can report to the delegates that the tasks listed in the resolution have been accomplished. Growth of more than 10 percent has been achieved in industrial output. The decline in housing construction and development of the social infrastructure has been checked, with a trend toward growth emerging in 1983. Brisker activity in housing construction is to be observed in cities and towns. Considerable progress has been made in crop production in agriculture."

St. Miskiewicz assigned a positive rating to the development of the regenerated trade union movement and to the enactment of legislation on worker self-management.

The second part of the report by the Executive Board contained a discussion and characterization of negative phenomena occurring both in the economy and in the life of society in the region.

Assessing the progress of the reports-elections campaign, St. Miskiewicz stated that "the party has emerged from this campaign stronger and more efficient, with its ideological identity confirmed. At conferences and reports meetings much discussion has been devoted to the need for taking new people into the party and strengthening party discipline. Mention was made of the deficiencies of our actions, of what upsets and irritates the people. There was talk of the responsibility of party elements for the vicissitudes of the workplace, the school, and institutions and for the fate of the country and the people. The reports campaign has pointed up the matters and problems with which we must concern ourselves during the new term."

In concluding his introduction to the discussion, the Provincial Committee first secretary stated that "to meet the demands of the statement that the 'party is the same but not the same,' we must act to prevent a repetition of errors. As stabilization moves forward, we must more and more steadfastly and tenaciously consolidate our achievements and shun complacency. August 1980 was a bitter lesson to all of us and must not be allowed to be repeated. Thus to reach the goals embodied in the slogan 'the party leads and serves the people,' as during the term just expired the actions of the party in the province must be oriented toward human affairs, toward overcoming troubles and difficulties, and toward the needs of the workers. Today we need more people who join the party not for the sake of a life of ease and a career but to enter into the ranks of the combatants."

This address was followed by a discussion (which is reported on separately). The floor was taken by 25 speakers, and 22 of the delegates had the contents of their remarks entered in the minutes of the conference. Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor toward the end of the discussion. He stated, among other things, that "the work of the provincial party organization over the last term is to be rated favorable. It has protected its unity in the hard political struggle, and at the same time achieved good results in the economic sphere. Both the leadership of the provincial echelon and the thousands of party activists, the entire organization, deserve credit for these results. While remaining ever mindful of these events, we must nevertheless give thought to what remains to be done. The most important task is further effort to gain the confidence of society in the party."

In his comments, Kazimierz Barcikowski placed particular emphasis on the economic problems which society, under the leadership of the party, will solve in the immediate future. The speaker also responded to comments made by delegates in the discussion.

An extensive report on the address by K. Barcikowski was published today in the morning newspapers.

Representatives of the allied parties, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, conveyed their wishes for productive proceedings and for achievement of the best possible results in party activities, which, it was asserted, will bolster the work of United Peasant Party elements in the countryside and of the Democratic Party in intellectual and craft circles. In secret balloting the delegates elected the 101-member PZPR Provincial Committee, as well as the Provincial Audit Commission and the Provincial Party Control Commission.

At the first plenary session of the Provincial Committee the members of the latter announced the candidacy of Stanislaw Miskiewicz as first secretary of the Provincial Committee. In secret balloting the delegates elected St. Miskiewicz first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, with 324 of the 326 votes cast being for him as candidate.

The Executive Board and the Secretariat of the Provincial Committee were elected at a plenary session of the new PZPR Provincial Committee. Stefan Rogalski, Czeslaw Uscinowicz, Adam Sobiechowski, Zdzislaw Pedzinski, and Jerzy Wieczorek were elected Provincial Committee secretaries.

The members of the presidiums of the Provincial Audit Commission and the Provincial Party Control Commission were elected at plenary meetings. Czeslaw Lipinski was elected chairman of the Provincial Audit Commission, and Zbigniew Gorkiewicz chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission.

The 20th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the PZPR in Szczecin passed a resolution defining the party's tasks in the region in the next few years. A resolution was also passed emphatically protesting the weapons and the aggressive militaristic policy of the United States and the NATO countries.

The delegates passed a resolution on celebration of the 40th anniversary of restoration of western Pomerania to the Motherland. The 20th Provincial Reports-Elections Conference of the PZPR ended with singing of the Internationale.

Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee:

Stanislaw Miskiewicz--first secretary of PZPR Provincial Committee

Stefan Rogalski--secretary

Zdzislaw Pedzinski--secretary

Adam Sobiechowski--secretary

Czeslaw Uscinowicz--secretary

Jerzy Wieczorek--secretary

Stanislaw Gladzik

Leon Hancewicz

Wladyslaw Janowski

Kazimierz Jaskot

Mieczyslaw Lewandowski

Hieronim Podkowski

Zenon Pyda

Tomasz Rozanski

Zofia Siennicka

Jan Stalewski

Jaroslaw Wernikowski

Piotr Wojciechowski

Andrzej Zychlinksi

Czeslaw Lipinski was elected chairman of the Provincial Audit Commission, and Zbigniew Gorkiewicz chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission.

RESULTS OF RZESZOW PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by the reporting staff of NOWINY: "Let Us Extricate the Country From Its Crisis Through Joint Efforts, and Not Halt Our Attempts at Socialist Renovation, Strengthening the Party's Power and National Consensus"]

[Text] Yesterday, 24 January 1984, the Party Provincial Reports-Elections Conference took place in Rzeszow. Of the 279 elected delegates to the conference, 273 attended and 6 were legitimately excused. These delegates represented the 36,000-man strong provincial party organization. A 35-man presidium coordinated the conference's efforts. Ryszard Kielb, Feliks Buszta and Boguslaw Kotulski chaired the conference proceedings in succession.

Among the participants of the conference which Party Provincial Committee First Secretary Franciszek Karp opened were: Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo candidate member and Party Central Committee secretary; Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Party Central Committee Economic Department; Stanislaw Wlezien, member of the Central Audit Commission Presidium; Stanislaw Wolszyn, member of the Central Party Control Commission Presidium; Jozef Kardys, deputy minister of forestry and the wood industry; Krzysztof Kuczynski, deputy minister of metallurgy and the machine industry; and Ryszard Mazur, director of the Department of Agricultural Science and Education in the Ministry of Agriculture. Central Committee members Boleslaw Jaroszkiewicz, Jozef Kalisz, and Antoni Szybist, and Central Audit Commission member Edward Ryczko also attended the proceedings.

Among the large body of invited guests were: Franciszek Gutowski, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party; Jan Switka, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party; Franciszek Kruczynski, chairman of the Provincial People's Council; Zenon Czerniakowski, chairman of the Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and Henryk Ficek, governor of Rzeszow.

The election of a mandates, motions and elections commission was accomplished at the beginning of the proceedings. All delegates had earlier received reports by the Party Provincial Committee, the Provincial Audit Commission,

and the Provincial Party Control Commission, as well as information on the implementation of motions made by the echelons and ranks of the basic party and branch organizations to the provincial authorities, and information on the theme "Results and Intentions in the Building of Sociotechnical Installations and Facilities in the Towns and Communities of Rzeszow Province."

The proceedings were conducted beneath the slogan "By Implementing the Program of the Party's Ninth Congress, We Are Realizing Socialist Renewal and the Policy for Struggle, Understanding and Reform."

Franciszek Karp, the Party Provincial Committee first secretary, made the first speech, which evaluated the accomplishments of the 2 and 1/2 years of the term of office and delineated the main directions of actions for the future.

After a statement concerning the importance of the proceedings by the mandates commission, Jan Mical, a foreman from the Predom-Zelmer ZZSD in Rzeszow, opened the discussion. Henryk Ficek, governor of Rzeszow Province, was the second speaker.

The next event was the elections committee chairman's nomination of Franciszek Karp to the post of Party Provincial Committee first secretary in Rzeszow. Comrade Franciszek Karp gained the Central Committee Politburo's endorsement, which was read by Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

The elected returns committee undertook the steps associated with the elections of a Provincial Committee first secretary.

Tadeusz Ryczaj, chief director of the Transportation Equipment Plant in Mielec, resumed the discussion with his speech, while Krzysztof Gazdziak, a farmer from Sadkowa Gora, continued it after a break.

Secret balloting also took place at this time. After counting the votes, the chairman of the returns committee informed the assembled that Comrade Franciszek Karp had been unanimously elected Party Provincial Committee first secretary. To the applause of the conference's participants, the proceedings' chairman congratulated Comrade Karp.

Work connected with the conduct of elections to Provincial Committee and party provincial control agencies continued. The candidates for particular agencies, as announced by the elections committee, had been presented beforehand to the delegates in a specially prepared bulletin. Lists with the candidacies of those nominated in the hall were distributed. After closing, the list appointed a returns committee, which assumed its duties.

The discussion was resumed. Stanislaw Woloszyn, a member of the Central Party Control Commission and chief director of the Zapel Electrotechnical Porcelain Plants in Boguchwala, and Stanislaw Czech, first secretary of the Party City Committee in Rzeszow, were next to speak in the deliberations. The following speaker was Franciszek Gutowski, chairman of the United Peasant

Party Provincial Committee, who dedicated a great part of his speech to the cooperation between the Polish United Workers Party and the United Peasant Party. This cooperation plays an essential role in solving many socioeconomic problems and in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, which should express itself of the one hand in an increase in deliveries of abundant products from the farm and the increased production of fertilizers, machines and other equipment from the city on the other. The order of the day is the intensification of various forms of rural self-government, the creation of a climate of mutual understanding between people from the city and the countryside. The chairman of the United Peasant Party Provincial Committee emphasized that the members of the United Peasant Party will actively participate in the implementation of all these tasks.

The following speakers were Piotr Budzyn, deputy chief foundryman in Rzeszow's Transportation Equipment Plant; Wladyslaw Kluz, director of the Schools Group in Lancut; Emil Szastak, a metalworker from the Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant; and Jan Dobrzykowski, an electrician from the Ropczyce Sugar Works.

After the election of members to the Provincial Committee and provincial control agencies, Jan Switka, the chairman of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee, had his chance to speak. He dedicated much attention in his speech to issues which either need to be settled or improved in order to strengthen the public's understanding and to authenticate the actions undertaken with the thought of overcoming the crisis. He ascribed decisive significance in accomplishing this to conscientious efforts. The chairman of the Democratic Party Provincial Committee highly appraised the results of the continuing level of cooperation with the Party Provincial Committee in Rzeszow.

Kazimierz Stawiaski, the director of the Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital in Rzeszow; Wladyslaw Pilat, director of the Organika-Sarzyna Chemical Works; Franciszek Kruczynski, chairman of the Provincial People's Council; Henryka Pelczar, chairwoman of the Provincial Board of the League of Polish Women; and Jozef Kalisz, chairman of the "Peasant Mutual Aid" Gmina Cooperative Board in Frysztak, took part in the continued discussions.

During this part of the proceedings, the chairman of the returns committee presented the results of the secret balloting for members and deputies of the Provincial Committee, the Provincial Audit Commission and the Central Party Control Commission. Next, the first plenary sessions of the newly elected groups took place, and secret elections for the secretaries and members of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, and chairpersons and members of the Provincial Audit Commission and Central Party Control Commission were held.

Once again, the plenary discussion was resumed with a speech by Mieczyslaw Sobon, the director of Prefabetu in Kolbuszowa. Jozef Kierat, head of the Provincial Internal Affairs Office; Eugeniusz Machowski, dean of the Non-Resident Department of the Krakow Academy of Agriculture in Rzeszow; Zdzislaw Sierwierski, chairman of the Provincial Board of the Polish Socialist

Youth Union; Andrzej Lesilkiewicz, the director of the Motor Plant of the Rzeszow Ploytechnic; and Antoni Szybist, a farmer from Sonina, had their chance to speak during the proceedings.

At the moment when we were finishing the transmissions of our report materials, the results of the elections for the secretaries and members of the Party Provincial Committee's Executive Board and the chairpersons and members of the presidium of the Provincial Audit Commission and Central Party Control Commission were announced. The proceedings continued. At the end of the discussion, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo candidate member and Party Central Committee secretary, addressed the conference.

The Party Central Committee Secretariat in Rzeszow is made up of: Franciszek Karp, who is the Party Provincial Committee first secretary, and Zenon Cyprys, Bernadetta Kilian, Marian Skubisz and Marian Magon, who are Provincial Committee secretaries.

The Party Provincial Committee's Executive Board is made up of: Zenon Cyprys, Party Provincial Committee secretary; Stanislaw Czech, Party City Committee first secretary in Rzeszow; Ryszard Fus, Party City Committee first secretary in Lancut; Krzysztof Gazdziak, a farmer from the village of Sadkowa Gora; Jozef Kalisz, Party Plant Committee first secretary in the PZL-Rzeszow Transportation Equipment Plant; Franciszek Karp, Party Provincial Committee first secretary; Jozef Kierat, head of the Provincial Internal Affairs Office in Rzeszow; Bernadetta Kilian, Party Provincial Committee secretary; Marian Magon, Party Provincial Committee secretary; Eugeniusz Machowski, dean of the Non-Resident Department of the Krakow Academy of Agriculture in Rzeszow; Jan Micahl, foreman at the Predom-Zelmer ZZSD; Eugeniusz Pietras, foreman at the State Motor Transport Branch in Mielec; Wladyslaw Pilat, director of the Chemical Works in Nowa Sarzyna; Zdzislaw Siewierski, chairman of the Provincial Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union; Marian Skubisz, Party Provincial Committee secretary; Stanislaw Surmacz, chairman of the Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives "Peasant Mutual Aid"; Marek Szlezak, vice governor of Rzeszow; and Adam Sliwa, officer of the Polish People's Army.

First Secretary's Speech

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Jan 84 p 4

[Article: "Thanks to Our Efforts, Our Intentions Are Assuming Realizable Forms"; summary of the report presented by the Rzeszow Provincial Committee first secretary, Franciszek Karp]

[Text] We are the representatives of the Polish United Workers Party, a Marxist-Leninist party, which, by basing itself on the proud revolutionary traditions of the Polish and international workers' movement and in close alliance with fraternal political parties, has undertaken the difficult efforts of building socialism in our country, the difficult efforts of building the establishment of social justice and a system where one man cannot exploit another.

Being guided by the superior idea of social justice, the party never loses sight of the fact that the individual is the highest good, including his needs, both spiritual and material.

On behalf of the individual's welfare, the party most severely fights against everything which is incompatible with socialist humanism and morality--theft, drunkenness, drug addiction, idleness, mismanagement, corruption, and disrespect for law and order and for other people; it fights for the interests of the fatherland and the socialist state. We believe that the creative efforts of the scientist, engineer, worker and peasant are the only means for their self-actualization, which is a demonstration of human worth and real patriotism, they are the way to satisfy the needs of society.

Recently, we have experienced a great test of social and political maturity. There was an ongoing fierce and merciless political struggle on an unprecedented scale in our country.

A trade union organization arose on the basis of worker protests; in leading communities it was taken over by inveterate opponents of socialism who turned it into an opposition party and struggled to change the social order and grab power for themselves.

Party members who were not prepared for this political struggle, but who had to operate in an unusually complicated sociopolitical and economic situation, had to learn, grow in experience, and pass a daily test of courage and caution in their dedication to socialism. Our audacious political opponents, despite the numerous appeals and attempts at understanding on the part of the party, pushed for confrontation; civil war threatened the country.

In this situation, extraordinary measures were undertaken and nationwide martial law was introduced on 13 December 1981. This was a completely substantiated and just decision.

The introduction of martial law was received by the majority of party members and the public with approval and relief. A qualitatively new situation was created both within the country and in the party. Order returned to the nation and the crippling strikes were ended.

Party echelons and organizations began to restore discipline and organizational order, eliminate ideological disorder and rid our ranks of chance members who often contributed ideas which were foreign to our ideals.

The summers of 1982 and 1983 saw a significant rejuvenation in the efforts of party organizations. Party activity became richer, the implementation of party obligations was fundamentally corrected, and the effectiveness of dealing with issues and problems important to collectives and the public increased.

Working in accordance with the spirit of the Ninth Congress, the outgoing provincial committee, its executive board and problem-solving commissions

performed their duties in a collective manner. Particularly noteworthy was the fact that a large number of comrades were involved in the writing of party resolutions. In the preparation for the plenary sessions, consultations for their agendas were conducted with party committees and organizations, with the young people's aktiv and social organizations, as well as with plant work forces and farmers.

The flow of political information from the Central Committee to party branches and groups is decisively better. Lecturing has been reintroduced.

We Know That We Are Facing a Large Number of Problems

In recording and evaluating the progress we have made in our efforts among people and for people, we know that we are facing a large number of problems needing solutions both within the party and in society, and in the area of ideological education. We have to improve systematically our ideological-educational and political efforts among the masses, keeping in mind that the educated individual works and is creatively active. A constant appraisal of individual attitudes has to play a key role.

Party echelons and organizations have to improve their style of work; as the strength for all undertakings, they must focus attention on its specificity and effectiveness. Change for the better is already evident in the activities of the echelons, basic organizations, and branch organizations. They continue to deal more effectively with the problems of their communities and try to make prevailing conditions better for the work forces and their workers.

From the moment of the passage by the Polish Sejm of the law on trade unions, the party's worker aktiv organized them, starting with the provision that trade unions are necessary, above all, to the working class as the representatives and proponents of its interests.

By the end of 1983, trade union organizations had been established in all plants and units where conditions for their establishment had been met. Already, 54,000 people belong to trade unions; this is more than 30 percent of the entire work force. The well-understood interests of the work forces require a further reconstruction of the ranks of the trade unions. We figure that this year will see the trade unions organizing at least half of the nation's employed. We are strongly counting on the positive impact of working self-government on the development of individual plants, on maintaining balance between wage increases and work productivity, and on enhancing socially necessary production.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is playing a significant role in those activities aiming at the integration of society. Activists of our party were, above all, the inspirers and organizers of this movement. Although PRON is a new development, it has become the plane on which all patriotic forces cooperate and an important element in our social democratic system. PRON is responsible for many valuable social initiatives. Today, the movement in the province numbers more than 10,000. Party members make

up 37 percent of the total membership. The movement is currently facing a great political task in the conduct of elections to the people's councils. This means that PRON will conduct the elections campaign itself and PRON's signatories will have to nominate candidates for the councils who are known to the public; they will have to conduct meetings between the candidates and the public, organize elections committees, and effectively run the elections themselves.

The problems of young people occupy an important place in shaping the activity of the provincial party organization. These problems result from the role which young people play in the sphere of political and economic life, as well as from the complexity of the situation in which they have been in recent years. The province's youth organizations have 75,000 members; they have their own activities programs and generally implement them well. Thus, based on the initiatives of the Polish Socialist Youth Union at the Transportation Equipment Plants in Rzeszow and Mielec, young people increased the production of bricks for their own construction projects and are preparing to increase the construction of single-family homes. The province has seen the organization of six young people's associations for home construction. Rzeszow, Lancut, Lezajsk, Strzyzow and Kolbuszowa successfully built settlements of 13 blocks with 639 apartments. Young people often volunteer their work on free Saturdays and participate in technological development and contests for efficiency and inventiveness.

The party does not violate the internal independence of youth organizations, but it must create conditions such that young people might be able to solve their own problems through their own efforts and social activities on a scale with their ambition.

An Increase in Material Production Is Indispensable

In summing up today's term of office, a task of fundamental significance was the extrication of the country from its economic crisis. In order to achieve this, it was necessary, first of all, to get material production going again. The enormous efforts of our leadership personnel and engineer-technical and economic personnel were necessary for this. Beginning in June 1982, the province's production began to achieve higher levels than in 1981, and this process continues even to this day. In 1983, industrial production, measured in comparable prices, was 4 percent higher than in 1979, the last year before the crisis.

Our industry has grown in the last term of office to include units turning out consumer goods. The Respan Rzeszow Footwear Plant and the Conres Industrial Clothing Mills were brought into operation. The Rakszawski Wool Mills were reconstructed and renovated. The Unitra Radio Works were made independent and today produce almost 300,000 radios annually. The Ropczyce Sugar Mill has begun to operate and has reached full production capacity.

The following enterprises have also been reconstructed: The Filter Producer Works in Sedziszow; the Fruktopol Fruit and Market-Gardening Industry Works;

the Fish Works and the Transportation Equipment Plant in Mielec, the Polam Lamp Works, and others.

In the current and upcoming year, the task facing the party and administration is rapid growth in market and export production. This requires overcoming the resulting barriers created by resource consideration through the systematic implementation of conservation programs, reduction in the material and energy consumption of our goods production, and utilization of residual materials and derivative resources. This also requires the application of construction-technical and organizational developments.

We must also deal with the problems on the labor market by employing our workers efficiently, shifting some of our administrative and partially productive workers to direct production. The proper utilization of work time remains an immense reserve of productivity.

Following the miners' example, we need to negotiate with the work forces to work on free Saturdays; this is an opportunity for both an increase in production as well as a chance for considerable growth in wages.

This year, the food industry will see a milk industry plant go on line in Trzebowansk with a capacity to process 70 million liters of milk; this will allow better management of our resources and improve the provincial market's supply of milk, butter, kefir and yogurt, cheese and powdered milk. Additionally, a new plant at the Fruktopol Fruit and Market-Gardening Industry Works will go on line producing food for children with an annual capacity of 12,000 tons. We will also begin the reconstruction of the Refrigerated Storage Facilities in Rzeszow.

Construction enterprises which build apartments, schools, pre-school facilities, hospitals, communal facilities and industrial units play an immense role in solving economic and social issues concerned with living standards. Despite calculated material problems, 1981-1983 saw 10,854 apartments, including 6,412 in socialized construction, become available for occupancy. We have built and modernized 14 schools, 28 pre-school facilities, 13 clinics and health care facilities, 2 social welfare institutions, 3 nurseries, 15 cultural centers, 23 sports centers and a modern hospital in Lezajsk. We also need to consider several negative developments such as the ongoing deconcentration of outlays, the extensive dispersal of construction, long cycles where capital is frozen, and the shortage of material goods. Despite great public pressure on beginning newer investment ventures, the current term of office finds us having to demand the concentration of reconstruction efforts on existing structures so that they can be utilized. As a result, we need to choose urgently pressing and socially indispensable goals. The most important goal has to do with apartment construction. Between 1984 and 1985, we ought to build more than 9,000 apartments, including 4,700 socialized dwellings. In order to realize these tasks, it is necessary that we accelerate the preparation of the land beneath the construction sites in the cities and set up the technical infrastructure. Factories and plants, which have the financial resources and the executive, material and transportation resources,

need to concern themselves more extensively with the construction of apartments for their work forces.

Simultaneously with apartment construction, we have to forge ahead with ancillary construction, namely of commercial and service facilities. Here, a significant improvement is envisioned through the acquisition of 28,000 square meters of land for commercial facilities, including 16,000 in Rzeszow. One hundred and ninety-two service facilities are also going up. We also have big plans for the construction of educational, child-care and rearing facilities. We envision the renovation and modernization of 46 schools with 550 classrooms, 40 pre-school facilities, 6 nurseries and 4 social welfare institutions. For the improvement of our health care services, we will continue with the construction of a provincial hospital, the reconstruction of a Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital, as well as of the hospitals in Mielec and Lezajsk. Twenty more clinics and health care facilities will also be constructed, both in the city and in the countryside.

We will concentrate the actions of the communal economy on the further construction of water-supply facilities and the improvement of water supply to Rzeszow, Mielec, Lancut, Glogow, Kolbuszowa, Sedziszow, Strzykow and Sokolow. Thirty villages will also see the construction of water-supply facilities.

As in the last term of office, so too in the current one we will implement a serious program in the field of providing gas to the cities and villages. We envision the construction of 654 kilometers of gas pipelines in the cities, and gas will be introduced in 32 villages.

Social volunteer work plays a considerable role in gas utilization, water supply to the countryside, the renovation of educational and health care facilities, the preparation of land for single-family housing construction in the cities and the construction of roads. In the years 1981-1983, the province's people performed volunteer work at a value of 1.7 billion zlotys, including investment work at a value of 1.2 billion zlotys. In this manner, we have gained 62 kilometers of new roads, 140 kilometers of rural water pipes in 16 villages, 500 kilometers of gas pipeline in 18 villages, 3 schools and 7 health care centers. As we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, we have to continue and expand this activity.

We Need To Take Advantage of the Possibilities of Agriculture

During the term of office which is ending and after the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, a great deal of attention was paid to the land and its better utilization. In satisfying these needs, more than 7,000 hectares of land from the State Land Fund were sold to private farmers; this process is continuing. A higher production in crop yields has been achieved in cereals, potatoes, sugar beets and hay. The year 1983 saw more than a two-fold increase in cereal production, 33 percent more milk and 12 percent more eggs than previously. On the national scale, our province is a major producer of

strawberries, berries, melons and currants. The well-developed farm and foodstuffs industry of the province meets the demands placed on it. In evaluating the recent agricultural period, we can make positive comments about the development of cereal production and the cultivation of crops meeting the needs of the processing industry. On the other hand, unfavorable tendencies can be observed in animal husbandry, particularly hogs. In the opinion of farmers, the price relation between meat and grain and potatoes has become unsettled to the disadvantage of meat. They maintain that it pays more to sell grain and potatoes than to exert the time-consuming efforts required by animal husbandry. A psychology of unprofitability has been created among private farmers and this has become a barrier to development. Without going into detail, we have to admit that the decline in animal husbandry has been considerably influenced by the reduced number of deliveries of protein foodstuffs; these deliveries are only one-fourth of what they were at the end of the 1970's.

We understand this situation. However, the informed concern of the public demands that the maximum effort be made to restore the herds of cattle and hogs. This is both a task and an appeal to our farmers, who have had many good experiences in carrying out animal husbandry by using their own feed. Small farms traditionally have maintained only a few animals for their own needs and for sale to the state. They must now receive especially significant support in the form of larger deliveries of protein foodstuffs.

During the current term of office, we must first concentrate our efforts, according to the joint determinations of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee and United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, on improving the advantages and production potential of our land and on gradual structural changes in sowing in order to increase the acreage cultivated with high-protein crops, especially corn, sugar beets, berry bushes, strawberries, barley and wheat. We must also accelerate land reclamation projects. The center of our attention has to be focused on the gradual restoration of our cattle and hog stocks through the increased breeding of pigs at meat industry and Polish State Farm locations, cooperatives, and the farms of educated farmers. The struggle to expand the scope and improvement of efforts in the quality and punctuality of mechanization, chemical and veterinary services for farmers has to be a part of our concern for increasing the productivity of our agriculture. It would be desirable to see a return to the comprehensive system of services in the sowing of lime, the protection of crops (principally in the fight against the potato beetle) and mowing. We will also concern ourselves with the systematic improvement of supplying the countryside with the means for the production of construction materials and goods which will make the living conditions of rural inhabitants easier. We also need to disseminate more effective agricultural expertise and create a climate which promotes the restoration of the authority and development of every aspect of rural self-government.

Dear and honorable comrade delegates! I allowed myself to touch upon only some of the problems facing our joint efforts for and among the people. I reached back in our memories to those lively, dramatic and tumultuous events of recent history to depict the magnitude of our work against this

backdrop. We have jointly and successfully completed this work and now face several issues and problems with which we soon must deal.

First and foremost, the most important thing we must do, lest we forget the painful lessons of the not-too-distant past, is to focus all our attention on working out a good program of action for the provincial party organization, a program which will win the public's universal approval and support. Our intentions are now assuming a realistic shape and those tasks which we face within the framework of the social division of labor will be propitiously implemented to the advantage of our party, society and our socialist fatherland.

Speech by Mokrzyaszczak

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] Today's conference represents the sum total of a 2 and 1/2-year period of difficult and intensive work on the part of the Rzeszow party organization. Comrades, the many results you have achieved are both measurable and outstanding. This is obvious. But also obvious is the fact that there are still areas which require an even greater effort on the part of party echelons, the aktiv, and, above all, on the part of the party's basic party elements.

Experience shows that only a party which is internally strong, integrated and undivided in its fundamental and strategic actions, and consistent in the implementation of adopted political policy, can carry out its leading role in society and the state. Only such a party can act effectively, but in order to do so it must rid itself of what has proven to be unsuitable or has impeded the implementation of the principle that the party is the avant-garde of the working class and serves that class's interests.

The positive changes which have occurred in the last few months have become permanent developments which today play a role in the party's condition and makeup. The course of the current reports-elections campaign is proof of this. We are restoring our Marxist-Leninist identity. We are consolidating organizationally and politically. We are gradually acquiring the characteristics of a party which fights. We are gaining efficiency and effectiveness in our activities. This, however, is a long-term process and we have to keep in mind that the tempo depends exclusively on our activism. We are ridding ourselves of foreign ideas, the debilitating influences of which have had an impact on our party. Numerically, the party is smaller, but very much more experienced and full of vitality; it meets all the conditions to act effectively. Once again, we are a party of the masses: almost 2.2 million members and candidates swell our ranks. New people are joining our party; for the most part, they are workers. This is a positive development, proving that we are gaining authority and the public's trust.

The party must grow in quality and in membership. This process, however, will not develop on its own. We need people who join the party not for the

easy life or for a career. We need people who want to fight alongside us and who acknowledge the principle that a party member is everywhere, but especially wherever things are difficult.

More and more party organizations are implementing in the daily routine the principle that the party's unshakable obligation is to act in the interests of the working class and for its welfare. Our sensitivity to human issues is growing. We cannot wait until working people come to us, we must go out to meet them. The slogan we need to keep in mind when we act is "to be nearer to the people and their affairs" and to recognize their problems more accurately, as well as to solve them more quickly and effectively. A considerable number of party echelons and organizations regard this slogan as one of the foremost principles of party action. This style of action needs to become widespread, for it guarantees the consolidation of real ties to the masses, the ability to assess requirements more accurately and the chance to consider the working class's opinion. After all, the party's strength is in, above all, its close contact with the working class and with all working people.

12247

CSO: 2600/730

RESULTS OF CHELM PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Account of Proceedings

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Concern About the Social and Material Affairs of the Workers Is the Party's Basic Obligation; Alojzy Zielinski Elected First Secretary of the Provincial Committee"]

[Text] Last Saturday, the 28th of this month, the fifth provincial reports-elections conference of the PZPR took place in Chelm--one of the last conferences in both the region and the nation. Over 230 delegates representing approximately 14,500 party members participated in the proceedings. During the conference, the functioning of the party provincial organization in the past term was appraised, new party authorities were chosen--the first secretary of the provincial committee, the provincial committee, the provincial audit commission and the provincial party control commission--and the program of functioning for the party provincial organization for 1984-86 was decided on.

Jerzy Szukala, first secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR in Chelm, opened the proceedings of the conference. Next a color guard appeared in the conference hall with the banner of the party provincial organization. The delegates stood up. The sounds of the "Internationale" were heard. Comrade J. Szukala greeted the new representatives of the party and national central authorities, the meritorious activists of the workers' movement, the representatives of fraternal political parties, of social organizations, of administrative and self-government authorities, and the deputies of the Chelm region and other invited guests, among them: PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon; Central Party Control Commission Presidium member Jan Zielinski; Central Audit Commission Presidium member Stanislaw Majchrzak; the assistant director of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, Ryszard Czerwinski; the director of the Youth Affairs Team of the PZPR Central Committee, Leszek Miller; the deputy minister of construction and the construction materials industry, Zdzislaw Kuhn; the chairman of the provincial committee of the United Peasant Party, Jan Sokolowski; the chairman of the provincial committee of the

Democratic Party, Zbigniew Markiewicz; the chairman of the provincial council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], Jan Kociuba; and the chairman of the Provincial People's Council [WRN], Jan Krupka.

Next, the conference chose three chairmen for the proceedings: Stefan Lyczak, Maciej Redde and Aleksander Pater. The delegates resolved on the order and regulations of the talks and chose the mandates, election and bill commissions.

Then Comrade Jerzy Szukala spoke, delivering the accounts report on behalf of the outgoing executive board of the provincial committee (we have printed a discussion of the report on page 3). Meanwhile, the mandate commission finished up its work, announcing that 231 of the 242 delegates chosen in gmina and town conferences were participating in the talks. Five delegates from the Sosnowica gmina could not be present on time since they had been involved in a car accident en route.

Next the chairman of the election commission recommended the candidacy of Comrade Alojzy Zielinski for the position of first secretary of the provincial committee of the PZPR in Chelm to the delegates. PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon supported this recommendation in his own name and in that of the Politburo. In the course of a secret ballot Comrade Alojzy Zielinski received 218 votes from a total of 228 cast. The announcement of the election results was received with applause. Applause also accompanied the words of thanks addressed to the former first secretary of the provincial committee, Jerzy Szukala, for the effort he had put into directing the party's provincial organization in Chelm in one of the most difficult periods experienced by the party and the nation.

Then a discussion lasting many hours began. Twenty-three people took part in it, namely: Jozef Szyszkowski, a worker from the Shoe Plants in Chelm; Alojzy Zielinski, governor of Chelm; Jozef Niewidomski, a farmer from the Wola Uhrushka gmina; Wieslaw Olesniewicz, regional commanding officer of the Fire Department in Krasnystaw; Colonel Henryk Kaminski, chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs [WUSW]; Marian Ludwikow, chairman of the provincial board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]; Marian Baranowski, director of the mill of the Gmina Cooperative in Urszulina; Albin Los, a farmer from the Siennica Rozana gmina; Ryszard Antoniewicz, brigade worker of the Agricultural Machinery Repair Plants [ZNMR] in Brzezina; Wladyslaw Krol, an activist in the workers' movement; Janusz Korczynski, manager of the Krasnystaw gmina; Wojciech Budzynski, director of the Cement Factory in Chelm; Piotr Wysokinski, worker in the Nadbuzan Tanning Plants in Wlodawa; Jozef Grajnert, retired, member of the MKR of the PZPR in Chelm; Boleslaw Bodziacki, a farmer from the Bialopole gmina; Edward Sikora, worker in the Tobacco Fermentation Plants in Krasystaw; Jozef Szpak, a farmer from the Wojslawiec gmina; Andrzej Suski, council commander of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] in Chelm; Leszek Tywoniuk, worker in the State Center of Agricultural Machines [POM] of Sielec; Wincenty Pilarski, a farmer in the Wierzbiga gmina; Wladyslaw Krzysztofiak, vice chairman of the provincial board of the Association of Fighters for Freedom

and Democracy [ZBoWiD]; Mieczyslaw Preciuk, director of the comprehensive gmina school in Ruda Huta; Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary.

Three delegates collaborated on the minutes.

Executive Board Report

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "Discussion of the Accounts Report of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR"]

[Text] The opening of the report of the executive board of the provincial committee consists of an analysis of the sociopolitical situation in which the party provincial organization functioned in the past term. Next, it indicates several current tasks facing party members and party organizations.

The basic task--the report states--currently includes the strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the party, the strengthening of ties with the working class and with all those who work, and the attaining of support throughout society for the party's policies. To be equal to these demands, the party must be with working people in all environments, must listen intently to their worries, must take up and solve their vital problems. After all, there are still weak organizations which are not very active in taking up and solving the problems of their environments through nonparty action. Therefore the activation of these organizations is also an important task for the immediate future.

The tightening of the cooperative partnership with the ZSL and the SD has an essential significance in creating circumstances for increasingly aggressive political activity and in broadening the concept of a front of national agreement.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is becoming a broader and broader foundation for social activism. This movement, comprising both party and nonparty members, believers and nonbelievers--people with various outlooks--is becoming the forum for a search for a common stand in matters of our socialist reality.

Ideological influence on youth should be a topic of particular concern for party echelons and organizations. The crisis in the consciousness of the younger generation during the 1970's has left deep traces. Perfunctoriness in political work, ideological confusion, the dissemination of consumer attitudes, the swerving of slogans from reality, the avoidance of sensitive subjects in talks with youth--all this has had a very ruinous effect on the consciousness of young people, has caused a decrease in their interest in social life. The majority of youth does not oppose our form of government but does oppose its degeneration.

The further development of the union movement, the strengthening of its position as the representative of the interests of the working class, is an important political task. According to data as of the end of last year, nearly 20,000 workers in Chelm Province belong to unions--which constitutes approximately 40 percent of those who are qualified to form an association. Over 60 percent of the union members are workers; the participation of technical personnel and secondary supervisors in union activism is too low. All party members should be required to be affiliated with unions and to participate actively in their work.

In the meantime, a little over 40 percent of party members in socialized work belong to unions.

Workers' self-government is an important link in democracy and in society's participation in solving the problems of its own operation. Workers' councils have revived their activities in nearly all state enterprises. Party members are making a considerable contribution to the activities of these enterprises.

The people's councils are a key link in socialist democracy. In accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Congress, the new parliamentary law has accorded them wide authority in the matter both of directing socioeconomic development and of filling the role of actual managers of their regions. To discharge its controlling function in the representative organizations, the party must have suitable representation in the people's councils and in the organs of territorial self-government. The approaching elections will decide this matter. All members of the party organization ought to regard the elections with a feeling of utmost responsibility.

The report stressed economic problems very heavily. It stated that the provincial party echelon has actively participated in overcoming economic troubles. Thanks to the good work of the staff in Chelm Province and to the activities of the national and economic administration, in the first half of 1982 the drop in material production was checked, and growth tendencies in industry were bolstered. In 1983 the level of industrial production surpassed that of 1979. Also, there was an improvement in the utilization of work hours; sick leave and unexcused absences decreased. But further active work is necessary in the matter of developing material production, especially for market demand. Party organizations in plants which produce for the market should stimulate additional production enterprises, should be concerned about the quantity of production, should combat waste more effectively, should develop socialist competitiveness in work for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

The necessity for developing farming and the food economy has acquired significance. Thanks to the incorporation of the principles of farming policy set out in the resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, a gradual improvement is occurring in the supervision of production circles and the economic conditions of production are approaching stabilization.

Despite an appreciable development in industry, Chelm Province has an agricultural character. Over 60 percent of the population lives in the country. One must admit that the production potential of farming is not fully exploited, in spite of the farmers' diligence. With soil conditions approximating the national average, Chelm Province is far behind in the production of goods.

There are still a great many obvious reserves in production. They inhere mainly in the further improvement of efficiency in exploiting the land and other spheres of production, fertilizers, and lime, in improvement of the technique of field-crop production and farming cultivation and in reduction of waste and losses in farm production, transportation and processing.

An especially important problem in the province's farm management is the assurance of complete cultivation of the land, which, in view of its small quantity and unregulated water supply, does not often find purchasers, mainly in the northern and western parts of the province. Therefore it is also necessary to fortify further the collectivized farming section of state farms and agricultural producer cooperatives [RSP], and to develop their production unions with private farms.

In political work in the country what is essential is an active influence on the people, an explanation of the tenets of the farming policy and its relation to the production tasks of the gmina, the village and every farm. We must point out that the interests of farmers and of the socialized farming units are concurrent with the interests and goals of society as a whole. More provisions must mean more industrial articles for the village and vice versa.

The report of the executive board of the provincial committee refers to an important anniversary, namely the 40th year of the founding of People's Poland. It was precisely in Chelm, on the first patch of Polish land liberated by the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army fighting together, that the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation [PKWN] was announced. For inhabitants of the province this momentous anniversary has particular significance.

The community of Chelm knows best from where and thanks to whose help came freedom, liberation from Hitler's occupation. We always maintain warm and amicable contacts with our allies from beyond the Bug, and especially with the inhabitants of the Volhynia district on the border.

In a resolution passed at the 13th Plenum the Central Committee expressed its conviction that the celebrations of the 40th anniversary will become a period of public discussion about our traveled path, about the circumstances of our accomplishments and the sources of our shortcomings, about socialist changes and their meaning for the nation. An essential trend in the celebrations of the Holiday of Revival in Chelm Province will be the expression of esteem and universal acknowledgment to the fighters for freedom and democracy, to the activists of the workers' movement, to the people who have made greater contributions to the development of the province.

The most lasting, most socially valuable form of commemorating this holiday will be the consolidation of civic concern about Poland's present day and tomorrow as expressed in work for Poland's welfare, in readiness to multiply the material and collective output of the province and the nation.

The report concludes by expressing acknowledgment and thanks to all workers in the province for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of 1983 and also to party organizations and echelons for their concern and effort in the past 2 1/2-year term.

12460

CSO: 2600/686

HOPES, ASPIRATIONS OF YOUTH STUDIED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 26, 31 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Ewa Wilk]

[Text] For some years now, particularly at the time of spring entrance exams, we have been writing about the declining number of liberal arts secondary school enrollments and the increasing popularity of basic vocational schools. From annual figures presented by the Ministry of Education it is evident that there is a progressive decline in the number of young people interested in higher education.

Are there any reasons for alarm? Is this by any chance a temporary "rolling up of sleeves" with the intention of gaining a well-paying job in a hurry since one has to establish himself swiftly? Or is this only a reaction to worsening living conditions? As soon as the crisis passes, will the schools of higher education again be stormed, resulting in 15 applicants for each vacancy?

The crisis undoubtedly affects the career plans of young people. The influence of this can prove to be more lasting than we suspect. The preceding questions conceal an uneasiness about changes, not so much in plans but rather in the aspirations, goals and principles advocated by the youth.

For many years youth aspirations have been a research subject of sociologists, educators and psychologists. Before we disclose the results of the latest findings or pronouncements of the youths' mentors, let us analyze what the goals of successive generations of young Poles have been. Dr Daniela Bednarczyk-Smolinska of the Educational Research Institute has compiled some interesting material entitled "Problems Involving the Values, Aspirations and Career Goals of Youth in the Light of Research Conducted up to 1980." The following remarks can be treated as discussions or as my understanding of this treatise.

About Success

It is certain that all successive generations of Poles have had great regard for happy and successful family life. A decided majority of the younger

generation has always yearned to have a peaceful home and a chance to bring up children. Only the sequence of priorities in the whole arrangement of values and objectives goes through changes. In all of the studies we asked the young people to name their goals in the order of importance to them. From the results of these surveys we attempted to determine the orientation of the young groups being examined, that is: vocational, family, community, or perhaps intellectual. As it turned out in our post-war history, the young generation's lifestyle adjustments initially placed vocation before family; later, family ahead of vocation. In other words, the generations of the 1940's, 1950's and beginning of the 1960's gave preference to work-related successes instead of a happy homelife, although the latter constituted the attribute of life's ultimate achievement. In the 1970's, comfortable and peaceful family life became more important and work was considered as the intermediate objective for the attainment of that main goal.

Let us give the researchers their say. The first professional opinions date back to the beginning of the 1960's, since earlier, in the 1940's and 1950's, no studies had been made. In 1963 professor Jozef Chalasinski, recapitulating the results of the farm youths' Diary Contest organized by the Rural Youth Union People's Publishing Cooperative and PAN, wrote: "The historic-biographical phase of the young peasant generation which is represented by these memoirs primarily characterizes the liberation of individual personal ambitions and goals. This opinion suggests that in former years young people associated their ambitions with the progress of society and with the reconstruction of the nation. Not before the late 1950's, and the enlightenment in social understanding brought about by occurrences which we conventionally call 'the October events,' was youth influenced to conduct an in-depth analysis of themselves and to find a new place in contemporary reality."

In 1965 Ryszard Dyoniziak, on polling high school and university students in Krakow, came to the conclusion that while a vocation is important to the males, girls decidedly aspire to family living. The results of Alina Sokolowska's research, published 2 years later, indicates that Warsaw youth value family contentment nearly to the same degree (52.6 percent of those questioned) that they do an interesting position corresponding with their preference (56.4 percent). In a still more graphic manner family life is emphasized in the research conclusions of this same period by Roman Miller: "The vision of private life completely obliterated the younger generation's association with the rest of society, including their working companions." Similarly, Barbara Weber concludes in her findings of 1966 that the attributes of the "good life"--satisfactions in the area of emotions (love and family happiness), realization of outlined goals, moral satisfaction and the avoidance of adversities--were valued.

About the Family

At the beginning of the 1970's, the desire for family tranquility above all other things was already quite evident. Nationwide polls conducted by the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] and PAN provide the following figures: 68 percent of the young people desire to have a happy family and, in addition, they mention such values as social recognition, a college degree

and a stabilized life. Over half of the youth questioned at that time by the Sociological Institute of the University of Warsaw showed a preference for blissful family life, while an interesting position alone was most important to 27.5 percent. In 1975, Bronislaw Golebiowski summed up the results of a survey performed by the Youth Publishing Agency's Institute for Readership Research: "Everything that is related to a happy family and love, sincere friendship together with an interesting vocation, appeared in 1975 to the young people as a fruitful life."

Finally, in the mid-1970's there appeared the concept of a "mini-stabilization" which can be considered the dominant lifestyle until the end of this decade. The definition of "mini-stabilization" can be found in the conclusions of the University of Warsaw's Sociological Institute studies: "This includes: the family's success, establishment of favorable relations with others, a good, i.e., an interesting and well-paying occupation allowing for a comfortable mode of living. Neither career, service to society, nor amusement can compete with this ideal."

About Work

The desire for an interesting job seems as realistic as the yearning for a blissful family nest. But it appears that work is evaluated differently at different periods and many peculiarities hide under the guise of "good" work. Here, too, we can observe a certain evolution. Originally, above all, the work had to be useful. After that, the succeeding generations began to pay more attention to its tangible effects. Let us return to the inception of these studies. The investigations in 1958 and 1960, under the direction of Stefan Nowak, disclose that interest in material benefits is shown by only 4 percent of the students questioned by him. On the other hand, 29 percent had intentions of contributing to the values of culture and science. From the previously mentioned research of Alina Sokolowska (1962 and 1964), it is evident that 56.4 percent intend to seek work akin to their interests and only 4.4 percent aspire to a life of comfort and plenty. After a period of several years the research of the University of Warsaw's Sociological Institute in 1971 indicated a radical change: 40 percent of the young people desired high earnings, but this was secondary to their first preference. On the other hand, 27.5 percent were seeking interesting occupations, which was fifth in the order of their life goals.

In the mid-1970's, Andrzej Janowski of the Pedagogic Research Institute, among several of his conclusions, stated: "With the age of the examined subjects the importance of honest work decreases, while resourcefulness in living gains meaning."

With time youth's outlook also changes regarding society's utilization of work efforts and also regarding any activities aimed at improving existing realities. In the studies of S. Nowak from the beginning of the 1960's, social activities were declared to be in the fourth position on the list of life's aims by 37 percent of the researched subjects. However, in 1965 R. Dyoniziak asserted: "Some of the great ideals of today are formulated vaguely, using slogans which cause young people to lose interest in general

matters as well." In 1967 similar opinions were presented by Miron Krawczyk: "Verbal ideology emanating from an awareness of socialist morality is not suitable for the lifestyle of many students, since the true characteristics of this style are social indifference and a lack of involvement in social activities inside as well as outside of the school environment. Finally, from investigations made in the middle of the 1970's, possibly the most accurate is the opinion of A. Janowski: "People who claim to participate actively in the affairs of the country and within their own environment number less than one-fourth of those polled."

About Education

Here is where the real problem begins. As difficult as it is to arrive at numerical comparisons in analyzing the goals of a successful family or a good job, it is even more difficult to compare educational aspirations. Besides, the researchers posed one set of questions to students, different ones to working youth and still others to students in the rural elementary schools. Sometimes these questions related to plans for the future, at other times they were directed toward education as a worthy and respectable asset, regardless of whether or not this was the intended aim of the person interviewed. In this treatise Dr Bednarczyk-Smolinska found two interesting statistics. From the research in 1971 conducted at the Center for Working Youth, it appeared that one-third of those questioned considered gaining a high school diploma their main objective in life. This was a very prevalent attitude, since it was second only to the desire to have a family and attain society's recognition. The investigations of A. Janowski (mid-1970's) of high school students confirmed that as many as 80 percent of them wanted to complete their studies.

At this point I will cite the study by Wieslaw Wisniewski of the University of Warsaw's Department of Sociology, Education and Training. The author claims that the educational ambitions of our society throughout our whole post-war history have been very high and even excessive in relation to the nation's capabilities and educational resources. These aspirations were encouraged by systematic and significant educational propaganda. With the advent of the 1980's we thus had the following situation: 60 percent of those who had not sought further education immediately after elementary school in a short time want a high school education, 90 percent of the trade school students are aiming for a high school diploma, 100 percent of high school students intend to complete their studies. How about the university students themselves? As many as 16 percent want to complete post-graduate studies or earn higher degrees.

What is the conclusion of this review of dreams, attitudes and aspirations? Certainly that it pays to synchronize transitions with the calendar of the most recent Polish history. However, it would be risky to devise some regulation in connection with history and aspirations, especially when young people's attitudes are affected by the remarks of their parents and influenced by foreign cultures (owing to mass communication or foreign travel) and swiftly changing lifestyles.

If now, however, in subsequent publications we complain about declining ambitions of youth and its materialistic attitude toward life, then we will see the experiences of the past 3 years or the present crisis as a catalyst for reforms introduced in past years, not as their principal reason.

12306

CSO: 2600/728

AL-QADHDHAFI RECEIVES MANESCU, CEAUSESCU MESSAGE

AU251921 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 25 Mar 84

[Text] Tripoli, AGERPRES 25 March 1984--An exchange of messages took place between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiyria, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi when the latter received Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice president of the State Council, personal envoy of Romania's president.

From President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution and Mme Safia Farkash were also conveyed best wishes of good health and personal happiness and new successes to the friendly Libyan people.

Vividly thanking for the message and the wishes, Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health and happiness, of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

During the interview satisfaction was expressed at the fine relations of collaboration between Romania and Libya, at the decisive role of the Romanian-Libyan summit dialogue in the promotion and expansion of these relations and questions were approached related to the strengthening and deepening of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, in economic cooperation in particular as well as aspects of the current international situation.

During the talks, stress was laid on the particular importance of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries concluded in Bucharest in 1983.

The wish was reasserted to further work for the translation into life of the convenanted programmes, to identify new ways and means to expand the many-sided cooperation between Romania and Libya.

The exchange of messages and the talks proceeded in a warm friendly atmosphere.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES TANZANIAN ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU231651 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1602 GMT 23 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23 March 1984--On March 23, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Ahmed Hassan Diria who presented his letters of credence as ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania to Romania.

Handing over his credentials the Tanzanian ambassador conveyed Romania's president friendly greetings from President Julius K. Nyerere, and the RCP leadership, the Romanian Government and people best wishes from the leadership of the Revolutionary Party, of the Tanzanian Government and people.

The ambassador's address shows that the United Republic of Tanzania resolutely and courageously drew its inspiration from Romania's stance on international issues related to peace, justice and freedom. It also points to the support Romania granted that country in various fields of activity, to the high valuation the Romanian-Tanzanian cooperation enjoys in Tanzania.

Receiving the letters of credence, President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the cordial message he was conveyed and, in his turn, requested that the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, be conveyed warm greetings and best wishes of good health and happiness and the friendly Tanzanian people wishes of progress and prosperity.

In his brief speech the Romanian head of state highlights that the development of the relations between Romania and Tanzania meets the fundamental interests of the Romanian and Tanzanian people just as of the cause of international peace and cooperation. He reasserts Romania's determination to imprint a more dynamic course and confer an ever richer content on the Romanian-Tanzanian cooperation in the spirit of the understandings convened during Bucharest and Dar es Salaam Summit talks.

Stress is also laid on the broad relations Romania promotes with all the states of the world, on the attention it pays to strengthening its friendship and solidarity with the African states, with all the developing and non-aligned countries.

CSO: 2020/78

CURRENT CONCERNS IN EDUCATION OF YOUNG PHYSICISTS DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 9 Feb 84 p 4

[Interview with Prof Dr. Iancu Iova by Sorin Preda: "A Priority Task of Education and Cultivation of the Creative Spirit"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Professor, as one well knows, we live in a period of great revolutionary changes and at the same time of great achievements in all fields of activity, a natural consequence of a vision, intransigent toward all that is old and obsolete--a vision which integrates boldness, human creativity and technical-scientific progress on all levels.

Can you tell us in this context what role is played by the Faculty of Physics in Bucharest, where you are a professor?

[Answer] First, we ought to mention that our faculty, through its own structure, has a double task of research and production, of theory and practice, an inter-connection which should be considered in its very creative mobility. In recent years, physics (fortunately, I can say) has lost its autarchic independence, developing, increasingly, for the profit and progress of other sciences or fields of activity such as medicine, geology, astronomy, metallurgy, etc.

Without denying to it the aspect of basic, theoretical research in contemporary physics, the most numerous, the most complex and the most effective answers to the concrete problems which our economy presents are asked for physics today. At the same time our research does not reject ambitious bids. Our time should be (metaphorically speaking) the future, the anticipation, 10 to 15 years ahead of time, of the technological, energy and other needs of national economy.

[Question] Coming back to the present, how does the Bucharest Faculty of Physics respond concretely to the demands of the national economy?

[Answer] In the first place, by training with maximum responsibility the specialists graduated each year. We have ensured the best conditions: a collective of professors formed by personalities already distinguished at the national or international level, laboratories equipped with the most modern machines and installations, possibilities for multi-disciplinary documentation, etc. It is certain that today's student can no longer be a passive receptacle of theory. He should be placed, from the very first year, in the position of proposing major

research topics. It is true, the taste for research cannot be acquired overnight, but the fact seems important to us that at our faculty it should be encouraged constantly, especially through the activity of student scientific circles, which in the context of combining research with production receives new, definitely superior values. The scientific activity of students is not considered by itself, but it is indissolubly connected to the multiple aspects of the activity of education and production. These scientific circles are strictly controlled and guided, with their activity developing entirely around research collectives within the framework of the departments or institutes of the Magurele Platform. The concept of specialist should be redefined. Regardless of the field selected (atomic and nuclear physics; spectroscopy, plasma and lasers; solid body electricity and biophysics; molecular physics; physics of polymers, etc.), the specialist who wants to be worthy of this name, in addition to possessing strict theoretical preparation, should be, to the same extent, a seeker of solutions, a true researcher. In recent times, at our university, the number of these circles has increased considerably and the subjects of research are increasingly more sensibly selected from the most modern fields, with an increased degree of applicability. We are monitoring and educating the future specialist in the spirit of economic efficiency. We are encouraging original ideas and methodologies which, in addition, are taken over immediately by the platform units--a hopeful collaborator and support for us. Through these subjects we will aim, for example, at increasing the degree of applicability of spectroscopic methods in the control of the quality of metals, of the metallurgy charge, of the purity level of a substance, etc.

[Question] What other forms of professional training and of increasing the creativity of the future specialist are offered by the Faculty of Physics?

[Answer] We want to be very well understood. The diploma does not give its recipient, once and for all, the status of a specialist. Our mission does not end suddenly with the validation of the state thesis of a student. We have a very well refined system of training and retraining through the post-university courses, which are intended in particular, for cadres who work in fields with a special character, which utilize nuclear technologies, be they engineers, chemists or technicians. The domain of nuclear physics offers its theoretical beauty, but also well-known practical risks. Those who work with radioactive substances in various fields (medicine, chemistry, biology, metallurgy, geology) should be well trained theoretically and practically. Hence, the increased responsibility for us, the didactic cadre, also. Likewise, we are carrying out training in post-university courses intended to extend the specialization of cadres in various domains which necessitate the utilization of spectral, plasma or laser technologies, of nondestructive defectoscopy. And the field of practical utilization of generators with lasers increases from year to year (geology, geophysics, medicine, metallurgy, study of atmospheric pollution, etc.).

We, Romanians have been (and are) strong, so to speak, in the study of fundamental processes. We have given many theoreticians to world physics. The recent years, as one can well observe, have discovered and stimulated the Romanian researcher and his applicational capacities.

[Question] It is indeed natural for a physicist to come down from the ivory tower of theoretical research and to answer some precise, economic imperatives. What is now the priority field of research?

[Answer] Indisputably the nuclear field. In the national energy program, our faculty has very concrete tasks of very high responsibility. We will become, in the near future a power in this field. Great investments have been made and are being made so that Romania may acquire energy independence. And this work can only be realized through the development and discovery of new sources of so-called nonconventional energy. We have a national nuclear program, a material and organizational framework of research and application. But to the same extent, we need specialists fit for the job, people capable of handling a technique and technology which are at their peak in the true sense of the word. As far as we are concerned we can give these specialists to our economy. We already have the section for technological physics, where we train engineer physicists specializing in many areas. Parallely, we stimulate students, by means of scientific circles, to engage in research on semi-conductors, solar cells, etc. As we mentioned, we should constantly be looking toward the future. As regards the gas laser, our country is among the top three countries in the world. We should do the same work in the field of microminiaturization of semi-conductors, microprocessors, discovering suitable principles and technologies, but also training specialists capable of handling the most complex machines and installations. Moreover, here lies the dialectic interaction between basic research and its industrial stage. Only by correlating research with production will we increase the great potential of Romanian original thought, the talent, the desire to stand out and the boldness of the youth--today's students, tomorrow's specialists.

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BRIEFS

SUMMER TIME BEGINS 25 MARCH--Bucharest, AGERPRES 24 March 1984--In the night of 24 to 25 March summer time begins in Romania. One week earlier than the previous years, to end on the Sunday following the last Saturday in September [30 September]. This is a highly efficient measure as the utilization of more daylight in summer will lead to annual electric energy savings of about 230 million kwh and take off pressure (280-500 mw) from the national power grid during peak hours. According to legal provisions, the schedule of economic and social activities remains unchanged. Domestic trains timetable also remains unchanged while international trains will directly correlate their timetable with that of the trains in their neighbour countries. [Text]
[AU241435 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1126 GMT 24 Mar 84]

CSO: 2020/78

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN REPORT ON EAST EUROPEAN REFUGEES IN YUGOSLAVIA

Copenhagen INFORMATION MANDAG in Danish 13 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by Larry Gerber: "The Southern Flight Route from the East Bloc"]

[Text] Belgrade, February. A grey building near the main railroad station holds a silent hope for thousands of people who have attempted the often dangerous southern route out of the Soviet bloc.

Annually, more than two thousand refugees receive aid in the building--embellished by graffiti--which houses the local section of the UN Commission of Refugees.

The organization, headquartered in Geneva, provides housing for refugees all over the world. In nonaligned communist Yugoslavia, which energetically tries to maintain good relations with both the communist bloc and the Western world, the UN office must do its duty without angering Yugoslavia's neighbors in the Warsaw Pact.

At the present time the situation is even more sensitive because the world's attention is directed toward Yugoslavia as the host of the Olympic winter games.

"We understand their (the Yugoslavs') position and try not to provoke problems," says Zivojic Bulat, himself a Yugoslav and head of the UN office with its 13 employees. "The Yugoslavs would like to demonstrate that they do not directly urge people to flee. But since the country has signed the UN convention on protection of political refugees, the refugees cannot forcibly be sent back.

Most of the refugees arrive with very little money and without friends to help them.

According to reliable figures from a source which does not wish to be identified, most of the refugees come from Czechoslovakia and Rumania, which last year accounted for more than 900 each.

According to the same source the figure has remained constant for several years.

Almost all of the refugees from Czechoslovakia leave the country legally among the more than 200,000 persons permitted to leave to spend vacations in Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, many of the Rumanians cross the border illegally. They swim across the Danube, and as a rule spend a week or two on police custody before getting to the Commission.

In Yugoslavian cities on the banks of the Danube one encounters small clusters of graves without names. These are the last resting places of refugees struck down by bullets from the Rumanian border guard or sucked down by the strong current in the river.

A smaller number of refugees come from Albania, Bulgaria, Asia, Africa or even Latin America. These number less than 100 from each area. They are persons who defect during a business or vacation trip.

The refugees must prove that they fled from political or religious persecution.

Unlike its communist neighbors, Yugoslavia has signed the UN convention on protection of such refugees. According to this convention, economic motives do not suffice for claiming protection. Yugoslavia sends criminal refugees back where they came from.

"We are not a travel bureau," says Bulat. Those who are entitled to aid -- about 85 percent of those who arrive annually -- are placed in one of several refugee lodgings, at the cost of ten dollars per day.

For comparison, Austria last year processed 5,898 refugees in that country's largest refugee camp at Traiskirchen. According to the Austrian ministry of the interior the majority of these refugees were Poles or Czechoslovaks. West Germany receives about 10,000 East Germans annually, most of whom are older persons who have been granted permission to leave the GDR. The northern route is blocked by heavily armed border police, and only the most daring of East Germans use it.

Very few of those who come by the southern route wish to remain in Yugoslavia because jobs are hard to find there. The language as well may be a barrier. Last year, over 500 of the refugees traveled on to Australia. The United States, Austria, and West Germany each accepted over 300.

"The problem is that the quotas of the various countries are inadequate," says Bulat. "On the average, the refugee stays here for three months, but some have to wait a year or more before they can travel on."

Yugoslavia's border control is very mild vis-a-vis citizens of practically all countries. But some of the people who enter the country are not entitled to assistance, or lose patience and do not wish to wait until their papers are in order. Last year about 100 of these people took matters into their own hands. One possibility for flight is to hire a guide familiar with the country to lead the refugee in secret across the mountains to Italy. Another possibility is to sail across the Adriatic to Italy.

BILANDZIC REVIEWS LCY PROGRAM, NOTES NEED FOR AMENDMENTS

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 12, Dec 83 pp 1763-1776

[Article by Dr Dusan Bilandzic: "Preserving the Integrity of the LCY Program"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] What I have to say will be colored by fresh impressions which I received in researching the extent to which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, since adoption of the Program, has at key points involving major changes appealed directly to the phrasings used in the LCY Program. I must unfortunately say that the research in this regard showed, speaking in technical terms, that in the preambles of principal documents in more recent development the League of Communists has made little verbal reference to its own Program. When the social reform was carried out, nowhere was it said, for example, that the social reform was being carried out because this is explicitly called for by the LCY Program. The same applies to reform of the Federation, just as it does to the decisions of the 10th and 11th congresses. I wondered why that was so. And then I took up the Program again and by analyzing this phenomenon came to the conclusion that the Program is insufficient in the sense of its direct applicability and with respect to full elaboration of the social relations we are striving for.

The LCY Program is undoubtedly the most important and significant document not only of our own movement, but also of the world communist movement in the sense of an answer to the historical question of how a society--in this case ours--once it has "fallen" into a statist political and economic structure, is by revolutionary changes to overcome the constant tendency for perpetuation of that structure once it has been created after the revolution. And in particular how to prevent the difficulties of the birth of that new society from being used for the so-called bourgeois position of the criticism of Stalinism as something beneath the level of bourgeois society. The Program offers a fundamental answer to the question of how a society emerges from that system, how to prevent the structure created by the revolution from becoming petrified, losing its dynamic force and sliding into a rigid system incapable of responding to the spirit of the times. In that respect the Program has no equal, and in that sense it remains a lasting document, but unfortunately I must say and repeat--it is insufficient in the sense that one cannot find in it a point of support against various "left" or "right" deviations in the historical sense of the word. As evidence of this I would remind you that

since the Program we have experienced major deviations in the one and the other direction, and yet no one has directly alluded to the Program in the criticism of those deviations.

It is, of course, clear and applicable on the question of reestablishment of neo-Stalinism or private capital. Everyone will find support in the Program for the struggle against deviations of that kind. But it is hard to find support concerning application of those relations which are in movement within those large tendencies which exist in our situation and which still have not brought society in a situation of not sliding in either of those directions.

Society could slip in either direction. The system could "slide" even into Stalinism, and it might also slide into bourgeois society. The material, spiritual, ideological and political preconditions do exist even for retreats of that kind. In that sense the Program is precise in its commitment. It does not contain sufficiently precise positions at the level of application when it comes to changing social relations. Here are some more arguments to support this point. The ink was still not dry from the Program, adopted in 1958, and the 1963 Constitution when the League of Communists, in the mid-sixties, began radical criticism of the entire social structure. Yet the Program said not a word to question the economic structure of society that prevailed at that time; it said not a single word to call into question the state investment fund; it did not elaborate the problem of commodity production, nor did it question the form of the Federation at that time, but only noted that the nationality question had been solved and that the problem yet remained of the most highly developed and the underdeveloped. Consequently, the Program did not question federalism, commodity production and the state, political and economic structure of that time. That is indeed why the 8th congress, when it gave notice of the most radical changes, changes which are being felt even today, did not make much reference to the actual Program. And the 8th congress "sketched out" development along two parallel tracks. One track is the reform of the Federation, and that a radical reform, while the other track is building the "world of commodity production." I will not enter now into a criticism of the validity of that kind of strategy. That radical undertaking at the 8th congress is not based on the Program in the sense that it was something the program specifically called for. The same applies to the 9th congress, to the platform of the League of Communists for the 9th congress and to the 10th and 11th congresses. Why?

Now comes the "crowning argument" to confirm the hypothesis I have spoken about, and those are the theses of the platform for the 9th congress, which state that the way in which we--in theory and ideology--have defined socialist self-management is so big that antisocialist and antiself-management relations can directly be introduced under that banner. Who defined self-management in such a way that the platform for the 9th congress could all of a sudden, like some revelation, tell us that socialist self-management is so defined that all possible contradictory tendencies in Yugoslavia can appeal to it, including those which are manifestly tearing down the system? What does that mean? It means insufficiency when one moves from the level of a vision of the world in the future to the level of operability.

In that sense the Program is also insufficient with respect to commodity production. The "world of commodity production" is an ensemble of social relations. When applied in toto, it leads straight to the capital relation, but when it is smothered, it leads to state socialism.

The Program does not offer this kind of "dramatics" of commodity production. It states the necessity in the transitional period ...--that is all.

There is no very precise elaboration as to what is the view of Yugoslavia's communist movement toward what is called the "world of commodity production." One interpretation was offered by the 6th congress, and then the particular political, intellectual and ideological situation in which the Program was written came about. That is, when we made the transition to self-management, we went in three directions--to separate the party from the state, to revive the world of commodity production, and to revive the autonomy of enterprises and communes. The liberal deviation soon emerged, giving rise to the fear that those tendencies would lead to bourgeois restoration. In the spring of 1954 the League of Communists literally proclaimed that self-management socialism had by and large been built in Yugoslavia and that there would be no more changes in it except certain "finishing touches." That is as far as the theoretical elaboration went. But the legacy of the struggle against Stalinism remained. That legacy of theory and ideology was given shape in the 1958 Program of the League of Communists. The Program, then, was written at a moment when the system of that time had by and large become stable, had indeed become fundamentally stable, when Yugoslavia was achieving spectacular economic results (it was the world leader for its growth rate) and when the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union implied in a way that it was to be cautious in the creation of that vision, which was not to be a complete breakoff of ideological and political communications with that world. Under those circumstances the Program probably could not have gone into the operable aspect. I completely understand that. I am aware of the fact that it had to be insufficient in that respect. The question now is this: That being the case--what is to be done? As to the first qualifier--which has been pronounced here unanimously--to the effect that the Program is an epochal document, I do not feel that it should be changed, but it would be a good thing, in view of what some have already said--to the effect that 25 years have brought an immense experience in world development and our own domestic development--perhaps to undertake the publication of a book which, regardless of whether we want to adopt it or not, would call those two aspects into question.

After that introduction I would like to offer a lengthy survey of our development and of the points made in the introductory remarks.

At the moment when the 6th congress, in 1952, invalidated the Program adopted at the 5th CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] Congress in 1948 and decided to prepare a draft of a new Program, the Communist Party was at fever heat in the showdown with Stalinism and had already shaped the ideological-theoretical concept of the transformation of the state-centralistic system that had just been built into the initial form of socialist self-management. That was the "golden moment" for radical criticism of the entire ideological and

theoretical legacy of the world communist movement of that time, on which Stalinism had placed his stamp. The LCY Program did indeed arise out of that radical criticism of Stalinism. The authors of the Program, headed by Edvard Kardelj, also had 7 years of initial experience in the development of self-management (1950-1957).

In what sense was the gigantic struggle against Stalinism one of the most important sources and inspirations for the authors of the LCY Program?

To be brief: freed of the ideological fetters of Stalinism, the Yugoslav Marxists--in actuality the top leaders of the CPY--after an analysis lasting almost a year, under the dramatic circumstances of the struggle for the survival of the party, the country and the revolution, analyzed the historical development of the USSR from the October Revolution up to that moment, as well as the development of social relations in Yugoslavia since 1945, and, on the basis of a "new reading" of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, they reached the following main conclusions:

- i. state monopoly of management of all spheres of society had formed an alienated despotic-bureaucratic caste, which had restored the system of exploitation and moved on to the positions of imperialism. Soviet in type, but no longer socialist, but was rather state capitalism. That was the ultimate source of the attack on Yugoslavia in 1948;
- ii. social development in the USSR and in the other countries had confirmed the "prophetic" warning of the classics of Marxism that following the victory of the revolution the proletariat could face a greater threat from its own bureaucracy than from the bourgeoisie that had been overthrown;
- iii. the social system in Yugoslavia, though revolutionary, was essentially different from that in the USSR, since it still maintained social ties with the revolutionary masses, in its /type of constitution/ it was the same as its model and it should therefore be abandoned and a new one built on other foundations, unless "we wish to capitulate before the bureaucratic caste and state capitalism."

The Yugoslav communists experienced a drama similarly to that of the Bolsheviks. Boris Kidric put it in these synthetic and pregnant words: "The world conflict of the material productive forces with capitalist production relations broke out as a socialist revolution on Russian soil and ... encountered the very low material productive forces of Russia. Lenin's great drama began.... The question of how, in overcoming the low material productive forces ..., to avoid the fateful danger of the initial role of the state in the context of the backward material productive forces degenerating into the caste-bureaucratic system--the Russian Revolution did not resolve.

"It is being resolved today by the Yugoslav Revolution. That is, the question stated above has also arisen in our case, not only because of Soviet influence, but above all because of the similarity of the backward material productive forces of the old Yugoslavia with those of tsarist Russia."

This kind of radical and unsparing criticism of "everything that exists," above all of Soviet, but also of our own, ideology and practice, can be understood if one bears in mind how dramatic, uncompromising and fateful the conflict was. There were, of course, exaggerations in all this, since in that kind of struggle one does not and dare not be fastidious about the means, but rather those means are taken up which serve that kind of struggle. But let us leave that aspect to history....

The essential thing for this occasion is only to note the following: the CPY decided /to execute a grand historical change of direction and to cross over from the road of state socialism to the road of the development of socialist self-management/. So, this is also the source of the decision to invalidate the CPY Program which had just been adopted at the 5th congress and to make a new program which would be the charter of socialist self-management, the /Magna Carta/ for the transitional era from capitalism to socialism.

The authors of the program, then, were given the task of solving the problem of how to prevent the birth of the bureaucracy as the "principal enemy of the revolution and of bureaucracy as the last point of support of class society."

Another decisive factor and source of the Program is practice itself and social development since the introduction of self-management, between 1950 and 1957.

What are we referring to here?

Along with the criticism of Stalinism, which was to give shape to some new realization and a new idea about how to change the inherited social relations and forms, specific decisions were made and immediately implemented. The top political leadership of the CPY-LCY, which was homogeneous in its ideology and politics, was operating in the style of war and revolution, not waiting for analyses, detailed studies, debates in lengthy meetings, those things which are practiced in so-called normal and peaceful conditions, although /the operation of emerging from the rigid administrative state-centralist system represents one of the most difficult operations of our time, as has been confirmed not only in our country, but, in a negative way, in all the socialist countries/.

How did the "operationalization" of the ideological concept of destruction of the inherited system and of construction of the new system go?

The main tasks of the immediate moment were these:

- i. to transfer the role of the social vehicle of social development from the state-party apparatus to the working class and immediately to turn over the factories to management by the workers, which was indeed set down in legislation on 27 June 1950;
- ii. to separate the party from the state so that it would retain its political dignity as the revolutionary protagonist;

iii. to abandon the physical form of planning, to remove enterprises in the economy from the state budget and place them at the level of economic activity on the market, combined with determination of planning proportions by the government, so that state institutions would thus be turned into entities which would carry on economic activity as freely as possible, in their own interest and in the interest of society;

iv. to make the local social community--the commune--an autonomous entity in which the working people and citizens would see to a multitude of their own common interests;

v. to take away the inherited power and the right of sovereign decisionmaking from the central authorities and to make them an "extension" of work organizations and communes, which would define the general conditions of life and of work, would harmonize relations, but all of this would have its source in the basic social entities--the work collectives and the communes.

Changes in social relations and the first forms of self-management yielded spectacular results, and they were not long in coming. After 4 years of utter stagnation, beginning in 1951 industrial output grew every year at a rate of about 10 percent. The "self-management movement" spread ever wider and gained strength on the impressive results and on the vision of the future. The ideas had already swept through the masses and become a material force which was swelling almost day by day. But, as is usually the case with almost every movement, a differentiation began even in this, one which was not to develop, since it was cut off at its very inception, since it bore with it important implications for the political life of society.

What, then, are we talking about?

Social life, freed of the rigid administrative mechanism, began to engender certain phenomena which were in their type or at least resembled bourgeois phenomena in tendencies. Without entering into a description and classification of those phenomena in any great detail, we will merely illustrate some of them. In the criticism of Stalinism the thesis began to be developed to the effect that Stalinism itself could not be altogether broken down without the multiparty system. In order to ensure itself the legitimacy of belonging to the ideological doctrine of self-management, this thesis went a step further, asserting that self-management would not be able to develop either under the one-party system. These critics thereby moved to bourgeois positions in the criticism of Stalinism.

In the 1953 elections, when for the first time more than one candidate was nominated, various groups began spontaneously to take shape around the individual candidate. People who until the day before had thought alike began to undergo ideological and political differentiation in the election campaign, and it resembled the birth of factions.

In economic life, which took place in the environment of commodity-money relations, enterprises began to behave like commodity producers in the "pursuit" of the largest possible income, which was a "normal" phenomenon in that

kind of system, but it was perceived as the beginning of the birth of capitalistic methods of economic activity. Private craftsmen and tradesmen strove for the largest possible earnings, which is also what one would expect.

The peasants, freed of restrictions and collective economic activity, strove to revive and strengthen their status as small private entrepreneurs.

The communists were less resolute in fighting against the tendencies toward revival of antisocialist phenomena so that they would not be labeled Stalinists, which at that time was a serious political charge.

Many communists, especially leadership personnel, became accustomed to carrying out party policy in the most radical way possible, they were constantly demanding new changes in social relations, but there were also those who offered resistance from bureaucratic positions.

In short, in the ideological sphere, in political behavior and in economic life the so-called "liberalistic" tendency began to be born in society on the basis of the new course adopted by the LCY. In late 1953 and early 1954 M. Djilas, secretary of the LCY Central Committee, took up the role of protagonist and catalyst of this tendency.

The top leaders of the LCY, keeping abreast of social processes and summing up the new social phenomena, decided on political and ideological intervention. Proceeding from the point of view that the existing structure of society, which was mostly that of small property owners, was suitable for the tendencies of a bourgeois restoration, that in the deeper strata of the social consciousness there lay old sediments from bourgeois times which might be easily invigorated, the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee put a stop to the liberalistic tendencies, strengthened party discipline, and, advancing with the argument that self-management was already largely in place as the social system, for a time it halted further changes in social relations, feeling that the changes made up to that point should be stabilized, that the new system should be run in and experience gained for any possible changes in some subsequent period. That is when there was a certain lag and breathing space.

At the same moment when a large historical change of direction was accomplished, the first and initial form of self-management was mainly completed and a "pause" opted for in the development of self-management, relations with the USSR were normalized, first through government channels (1955), and then through party channels as well (1956). The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many other communist parties withdrew their monstrous charges against the LCY, which again found itself in the ranks of the world communist movement. Yugoslavia's international position was essentially strengthened and was to gain still greater strength as part of the movement of the non-aligned.

The experiences of the 6-year struggle against Stalinism (1948-1954), as well as the experience concerning the possibilities for and restrictions on realization of the concept of self-management, and then also the conviction that

the old society might be revived through infiltration into the League of Communists itself, cooled off the "temperature" of great enthusiasm and strengthened political "realism" in the LCY, especially in its bodies of leadership. And the most essential and decisive realization was the empirically established possibility that the "anarcholiberalistic" deviation could take shape, that deviation which the LCY shattered for three reasons: first, that it could have caused major internal struggles in society; second, that it could threaten the idea of self-management and its realization; and third, that it threatened the "return" of the LCY to the international communist movement and the desire of the leadership, of Tito in particular, to wage a struggle "from within" against Stalinism and in favor of equal relations in that movement.

Precisely at the moment when the struggle came to an end against these and similar "bourgeois" tendencies, the preparations also began for the 7th congress, and in that context for drafting the new LCY Program as well. The authors of the Program, then, headed by Edvard Kardelj, had behind them rich experience and all the necessary knowledge gained from the struggle against Stalinism, and then the experiences from social practice concerning the functioning of self-management and the realization that anarcholiberalism could present a danger. To this we should also add the enormous amount of new experience from international relations and development in the world, as well as the normalization of relations with the USSR, which, on the basis of the process of de-Stalinization--under the leadership of N. Khrushchev--had led to a "recognition" on the part of each of the socialist character of the other country.

Those are the historical circumstances under which the authors created the new LCY Program. Those circumstances affected the content of that important document.

There is no need to go into any full exposition of the content of the Program in this place.

Analyzing the Program from our distance in time today and with the experience of a quarter century of socialist development--so that it is not altogether fair--one can easily note certain gaps both in the theory and also in the domain of practical politics. First of all, the Program did not take up the problem of expanded reproduction in the transitional period. That term is not even to be found in the set of categories, although the concept of expanded reproduction could have been reconstructed by analysis. One does not find the position taken by the authors of the Program toward the specific system of expanded reproduction in place at that time, nor is a vision given concerning its future form. In any case the Program did not directly criticize the system in place at that time. The general position concerning this major problem is implied in the concept of the withering away of the state. But in view of the fact that the state at that time possessed almost the entire accumulation of capital, that it was the principal investor, rather than the work collective, one might have anticipated that the authors, /proceeding precisely from the concept of the withering away of the state/, would herald a reform of the system. However, the Program did not do that, but in a

number of arguments and positions implicitly accepted that system--since it did not call it into question. In the section of the text which speaks about the position of producers and the role of the state and production, the Program sees development in the direction of the system of "regional-political self-management organization of the producers--consumers ... at various levels from the opstina to the Federation ...," who in concord shaped their socioeconomic communities (geographic). It called for respecting the independence of work collectives in the economy, but also in the disposition of "certain funds," and there was no idea about strengthening their material basis. No mention is made of the prospects for diminishing state investment funds on behalf of the funds of work organizations. Nor is that idea mentioned in the section on the economic system. The statement which follows in the passage on economic plans is characteristic in this regard: "Through the social plan, central organs (its synonym for federal authorities--D. B.) should direct the investments of economic organizations and other social factors." For anyone familiar with the way in which the system of expanded reproduction operated at that time, this meant that all individual investors, and there were thousands of them, would put up their capital as a share to obtain the investment capital from the central organs.

Since the problem of expanded reproduction was not raised as an issue, there was no way either to raise the problem of the law of value in the transitional period, and vice versa, although it was generally known that precisely that problem was among the fundamental questions that had not been cleared up in any socialist movement.

Nor did the Program take up the problems of the development of federalism. This was still a "taboo topic."

Consequently, the problems which were not brought to relevance included the main ones: expanded reproduction, the manner and forms of operation of the law of value, possible degovernmentalization and redistribution of the national income, along with the nationality question. The problem of the position of the League of Communists also evaporated.

The argument that a document like the Program does not enter into problems of the moment could be brought to bear as an objection to these critical judgments. Certainly this is accurate, but in that case problems of this kind should have been found in the Resolution of the 7th Congress, but they are not there either. This document only calls upon the rank and file of the League of Communists to guarantee the best possible functioning of the existing system.

Expanded reproduction, the material basis of self-management, the law of value and federalism are lasting topics of social development and cannot be bypassed. All four were to be raised just 3 years after adoption of the Program, in the early sixties, and they would arouse major disagreements, differentiations and regroupings of the social forces, all of which has persisted to this very day.

Where, then, are the reasons for these gaps in the Program?

Before answering that question we should repeat for the sake of concreteness that in spite of certain shortcomings, the Program was the summit of social consciousness and of our knowledge of that time and that even today it can withstand criticism as a vision and as a direction for long-range development. Yet certain gaps are obvious.

In our opinion, the authors of the Program were limited by their time and historical context. Among the several determinants two are important. First--after having won the battle against Stalinism, after introducing the first (initial) form of self-management (1950-1954), and following the clearly pronounced tendencies of liberalism, the LCY leadership proclaimed that self-management had taken the form of a social system which was basically completed and in which no major changes should be anticipated in the coming period. The authors probably were mindful of this assessment by the leadership of the LCY. Second, in the late fifties the social situation as a whole was extremely favorable. Favorable circumstances came about in that phase such as have not been known in any other phase of Yugoslavia's development--not before, not after, nor indeed today. Only in the mid-1950's was the prewar level of the social standard of living achieved. Industrial development at an annual rate of 13-14 percent was at that time fourfold faster than that of the West European countries, nearly threefold faster than that of the underdeveloped countries, and it was also faster than any country in eastern Europe. That kind of rapid industrialization "created" hundreds of thousands of young workers who experienced the transition from the primitive way of life in rural areas as a great personal advancement; the peasantry recuperated from the pressure of the state and in 50 or 60 days of work in field cropping it earned the "wages" of a worker; hundreds of thousands of young people began to attend secondary school and in increasing numbers attended higher educational institutions as well, institutions which had previously been attended by the children of the privileged (before the revolution); the wartime generations had just reached their peak of life, and so on--in short, all social strata were enjoying prosperity. The first work stoppage in socialist Yugoslavia occurred only in 1958.

Under those conditions of stable and very successful development--and after the major changes which had "shattered" that old rigid administrative system and expanded the framework for the creativity of workers, collectives, and communes, which had indeed yielded results of that magnitude--one could not have anticipated any more radical idea and action to introduce innovations in a social system which was functioning so successfully.

In its antistatist stands, which imbue it from beginning to end, and its clear commitment to self-management the Program offered a solid legitimacy for new ideas and changes in the social system, which was still predominantly centralistic, with the state in the dominant role, especially in expanded reproduction. But at the same time, since the Program had not explicitly indicated that the system had to be changed, it was not even possible to refer to it and to demand such changes. It remained, then, for social practice itself to impose the new changes. And that indeed occurred only in the early 1960's,

when a new initiative emerged, one which in the mid-sixties took shape and was known as the economic and social reform, and it was embodied as an idea in the documents of the 8th LCY Congress (held 7-13 December 1964).

The basic conception of the protagonists of the economic and social reform in the mid-1960's might be stated this way:

The potential for further development of socialist self-management along the lines pursued up to that time and in the system of that time was exhausted. It was an illusion that self-management socialism would be achieved through the concentration of all efforts on development of new social relations solely within work collectives and at the level of the commune. Statism was still very strong and was the main obstacle that had to be broken down along the path of social development. There had to be a radical shrinking of the economic functions of the government apparatus, especially the federal government, the autonomy of work organizations had to be greatly strengthened, the market mechanism had to be "allowed" to function as fully as possible, the national boundaries had to be opened up to the freest possible communication of all entities in our society with the world, and the League of Communists had to be moved from its leading position to an ideological position. That line of development would disassemble, crumble and displace statism, and new social relations, new forms of the operation of the law of value and a new type of planning would take shape on the initiative of the new social protagonists of development. At the same time centralism, which was no longer able to perform the role of integrating Yugoslav society, would be overcome, and organic mergers and linkages which the direct producers would create according to their own standards, needs and interests would grow up to replace it and its artificial function.

This vision of development is not given exactly that shape in the Program.

Certain remarks are necessary to accompany this kind of interpretation. It is derived from an analysis of the content of the principal protagonists of the reform, while the documents of the 8th congress, as the basis of the reform, were moderate. But even they condemn "administrative meddling of political factors" in the economy, call for prices to be set more freely by the market itself, for a redistribution of the national income to be made to the advantage of work organizations, for "the present administrative regulation of the foreign exchange and foreign trade regime to be done away with," for a democratic decisionmaking procedure to be provided, for the League of Communists to guide social development through its ideological commitment rather than by means of government power, and for the focus in development of inter-ethnic relations to be transferred from the state as mediator to direct living ties.

In the early seventies, in the harsh conflict with nationalism and liberalism, what amounts to a supplement was added to the LCY Program. These documents are the platform for the 9th congress and its decisions, as well as the SFRY Constitution. Yet not even that supplement was furnished with the justification of the Program itself having explicitly called for it.

The 10th congress, which was held from 27 to 30 May 1974, has been called the congress of the conception and institution of labor brought into association through self-management. The basic idea in that conception might be summed up in the idea: "all income to the workers," which represents a radicalization of the well-known idea dating from 1950: "factories to the workers." This pertains to the sphere of production relations. In the sphere of the political system the basic idea might be summed up in the thesis: "all power to delegations, to delegates and to delegate assemblies." A description of the many reorganizations which shaped the institutional network of associated labor (basic organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest, delegate assemblies, the large number of so-called laws embodying the system and other laws) does not fall into the limits of our topic, since this is quite well known to the public.

Although the documents of the 10th congress did not, then, explicitly contest the ideas of the 9th congress in a single word, a comparative analysis does contain criticism of certain essential theses of the 9th congress.

If this assertion is to be understood, we first need to take note of two important results of development in the previous stage. These are changes in the sphere of the economy and the reform of the Federation.

In the sphere of the economy during the sixties, especially from 1965 to 1971, a new economic structure took shape in which large production systems were built up, strong centers of banking capital, powerful merchandising organizations, and other institutions suitable to the commodity type of economy. This kind of structure strengthened the power of the technomanagerial factor, which began to take on the character of a social stratum tending toward the capital relation, that is, toward the wage status of the workers. In that process this stratum in the formative stage linked up with a part of the political-administrative structure. This was a new challenge to the theory and practice of self-management.

The most vigorous protagonists of commodity production directed themselves toward introducing almost the entire "arsenal" typical of that type of social relations. That arsenal would include the greatest possible independence of work organizations as "free" commodity producers, free in particular from intervention of the state and sociopolitical organizations in the social relations developing in them, the fullest possible independence of the banks and similar institutions, "free" shaping of large production and other systems similar to the enterprises, companies and corporations which are suitable to a modern economy and modern technology, unhindered linkage with the world economy, rigorous implementation of the principle that work collectives should "share the fate" of their product, and so on--all the way to the possibility of investment of private capital in "public" enterprises.

As soon as the tendencies became evident toward revival of capital relations, and along with them liberalistic ideas and the ideas of political pluralism, polarization began within the forces which at the outset of the reform had mainly been unified. The criticism immediately pointed up the fact that the spontaneous operation of the law of value and the entire set of instruments

of commodity production constituted a capitalistic category and that this was leading toward restoration of capitalistic relations in society even without private ownership and the bourgeoisie.

The technomanagerial structure, whose social status and role were similar to that of the bourgeoisie in "classic" capitalism, would provide the personification of the capital relation. That kind of tendency in social development introduces the category of the production of the surplus value of labor, which is disposed of by the technostucture, thereby placing the working class in a wage status, shattering self-management and reducing it to possible participation, and, of course, diverting social development from the road that leads toward the classless society, and opening up the way to a renewed class stratification of society. It was stressed that credit relations have already become a form for siphoning off the surplus value of labor and for centralizing it by alienated centers of financial power, mainly in the banks and in the export and reexport firms. The criticism also pointed out how the technomanagerial stratum had already taken over huge resources of society and, having become a center of financial power, "was beginning to also set itself up as the center of government power."

Criticism of the tendency for alienated centers of economic power to become independent had full ideological and political legitimacy in the fundamental programmatic documents of the revolution and of the entire prior socialist development, pointing to the historical commitment of the communist movement, whose ultimate goal is to build a classless society, and along that road that goal, in the present stage, is realized in the system of social relations in which the workers are to take command of the resources for expanded reproduction, which in practice means that the centers of financial power which have been shaped must be "broken up" so that associated labor can take command over all those resources of society. Although the criticism of the alienated centers of economic and financial power announced itself even at the 9th congress, it developed its full voice in 1970 and 1971, when in connection with adoption of the amendments to the federal constitution, it took the form of a positive program. These are the so-called "worker" amendments, which defined the idea of basic organizations of associated labor taking over the surplus value of labor. And the 2d Congress of Self-Managers of Yugoslavia, held in May 1941, subjected the antiself-management tendencies to harsh criticism and demanded that the alienation of income from the direct producers be prevented.

The platform for the 9th congress condemned the tendency toward evolution of the capital relation in these words: "A self-managing socialist society is not built on 'its own' foundation, but contains the elements of both bourgeois society and socialism. Its task is precisely to go further in overcoming the elements of bourgeois society. If this principle is not respected, it could happen that the elements of the old society would become stronger (temporarily), and there could even be a crisis in socialist development. We have just had the beginning of one such crisis, which was manifested in the pressures to weaken the class orientation, in cases of and tendencies toward monopolization of the conditions of labor and of managing those conditions and means of labor, reproduction of the old and establishment of new capital relations, in the insufficient resolution and in vacillations in the struggle

against the ever more open offense of the opponents of self-management and socialism, in the inroads made by liberalism and other ideologies alien to socialism."

Vladimir Bakaric, one of the creators of the conception of associated labor, "revised" views on the process of the "withering away of the state" as well in the light of the tendency toward revival of the capital relation and the rising power of the managerial structures. He warned that the slogan "Liberate Us From Statism," in the given balance of power, favored those who possessed the surplus value of labor (the alienated centers of economic and financial power), and was not, as in the previous two decades, to the advantage of self-management and the working class.

Even Edvard Kardelj, principal designer of the political and economic system of associated labor, felt that the dangers of technocracy in Yugoslavia were even greater "than in a centralized state-ownership system or in the system of monopolistic capitalism ..." because "... in both those ... systems technocracy is in a ... subordinate and dependent position, since ... nevertheless, it has to report to the owner of capital, whether we are referring to the state or to the private owner of capital." E. Kardelj therefore felt that the danger of technocracy was the "principal contradiction" of self-management in Yugoslavia, one which would "give rise for a long time yet" to class relations and class antagonisms.

These arguments subjected to harsh criticism reliance on the law of value, commodity production and the market mechanism as the principal criteria and basis for the institution of the social relations and the system of social reproduction.

In order to suppress that tendency, the entire economic structure was reorganized. Large systems, the banks, the distribution sector and other entities handling the resources for expanded reproduction were reorganized so that all resources "went into the hands of basic organizations of associated labor," the desire being to restrict the power of the professional management structures and to strengthen the power of the direct producers as the protagonists of social development. Earned income, in all the forms of its movement and allocation, always belongs to the basic organizations of associated labor, whose workers make decisions concerning it directly and through their delegates, which eliminates the government and the state and paragovernmental bodies and other alienated centers. No more radical step could have been taken to strengthen the class position of the workers. There is no need on this occasion to elaborate more extensively this principle of the exclusive right of the workers to dispose of the entirety of income on their own, since this is common knowledge. This principle constitutionally forbids and excludes all previously known and inherited entities in the appropriation of income, such as the state, the banks, enterprises or any other institutions. It was anticipated that implementation of that principle would shut off all previously known possibilities for turning social relations either toward the type of state-socialism or toward those modified forms of the capital relation.

Views were also revised concerning the operation of the law of value and of the market mechanism. The necessity of their operation was "acknowledged," but there was a desire to take command of them *ex ante*. Yet this taking of command must not be done through government intervention. In that view the 9th congress remained on the ground of antistatism, which was an essential element in the ideological-political doctrine of the LCY even since the introduction of workers' self-management in 1950. A way was found to "overcome" the law of value. It was found in the institution of social compacts and self-management accords, which were processes which would be practiced as a universal principle both in the economy and in the free exchange of labor and in all other domains of the life of society.

The 10th LCY Congress, then, revised a sizable portion of the platform for the 9th congress, which had to do with the economic sphere. As for the platform of the 9th congress concerning interethnic relations, which developed the idea of the 8th congress concerning strengthening the right and responsibility of federal units--an idea realized in the federal reform in 1971--not only did the 10th congress not revise it, but it even strengthened the status of the republics and the autonomy of the provinces, which was put in normative form by the 1974 Constitution. This concept of federalism could not be revised, since its legitimacy was founded in the nationality policy of the CPSU which he had defined back in 1923, then developed in the period between the two wars, and especially during the revolution in the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions in 1943. To this we should also add the theoretical and ideological basis of the very act of the reform, which E. Kardelj shaped in the report in which he made the case for the 1971 constitutional amendments. The process of strengthening the role of the republics and provinces, which lasted 6 to 7 years (1964-1971) was accompanied by a floodtide of nationalism, culminating at the moment when the amendments took shape. The League of Communists managed to suppress that floodtide, but not by retreating from implementation of the reform of the Federation.

With the 10th congress in 1974 and the Law on Associated Labor in 1976 the phase of shaping the platform of social development was completed. From that time to this the documents of the League of Communists have not contained any essentially new conceptual elements for solving the problems of the present moment of social development. At the 11th congress (1978) and 12th congress (1982) the conception of associated labor adopted at the 10th congress was confirmed.

The LCY Program is an exceptional document in the world literature of Marxist and communist origin in that it not only offers a consistent criticism of state socialism, but above all because it has shaped the ideological-theoretical basis of the development of self-management socialism and thereby enriched world socialism with a new alternative. In that respect it is a document of lasting value. The passage of time does not afford any basis whatsoever for revision of a single point in the Program. Since on the basis of the Program the LCY has gone on in developing both the theory and practice of socialist self-management, thought might also be given to a possible

supplement to include that knowledge which the LCY has gained in development over the past quarter of a century. We have carried out important innovations in the constitutional and legal system (the 1963 Constitution, the 1971 constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution), so that one might also behave similarly concerning the LCY Program.

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CSO: 2800/232

ATTITUDES ON FIRE IN PAINTER'S STUDIO CAUSE BICKERING

Jeering in Youth Paper

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 84 p 2

[Commentary by Gradimir Aleksic: "Serbs Quench Flame with Tears"]

[Text] Like a shot at dawn, through the plum orchards of Serbia and through the hearts of the elect of [the Serbian patron] Saint Sava, echoed the news about the fire in the studio--in the Macva region--belonging to Milic from the aforementioned Macva [the successful painter Milic Stankovic, self-styled Milic From Macva]. However, every cloud has a silver lining. The Serbs, worn-out in their Balkan way but keeping up with the newspaper reports, were informed that God has yet been merciful, dispatching an archangel to save Radovan's tower, i.e., Milic's, which is connected to the studio by a bridge.

The damage is enormous. The flame of the Devil, that ungovernable Beelezebub that has been thirsting after the blood of the Serbs in these Balkans lo these millennia, destroyed treasure worth 3 million dinars. But that is not all. Just before the feast of Christmas, the inspired works of this painter devoted to Serbdom were consumed in eternal fire, including the material prepared for the priceless future collection entitled "Serbian Heroes from [The Battle of] Kosovo to the Days of Karadjordje."

Valuable ethnographic objects, without which the further interpretation of the ethnogenic background of the Serbs--so vital for the ethnogeny of the world and perhaps the cosmos as well--is impossible, also found everlasting death in the flaming tongues of the hellish pogrom. It is no longer a matter of certainty that we will be able to prove that the Sorabi (that is to say Serbs) are the font and matrix of all the peoples of the world and their cultures.

And that is not all. The fire was set purposely. Guided by the hand of the Devil, the arsonist set fire--out of the basest anti-Serbian impulses--to this priceless property of the painter devoted to Serbdom. In this way, the holy war has resumed that never really ended. If I could only have seen the sorrowful knight of Macva, if I had been able through his eye to envision the flame of the Serbian Golgotha.... If I could have been the heart of the brave academician Dobrica, if I could only have been the heart of the magnificent Serbian painter Mica, I would be trembling, I would be filled with anguish, I

would be remembering [the battles of] Kosovo and Kumanovo and those shades, those heroes by whom these Serbian sons are eternally inspired. If I could be at least as faithful to one idea as they are Serbs. Accordingly, I will probably never be able to rack up even a millionth of the cash that each one of them has been putting away individually. Yes, I am referring to money. We average ones remain poor. Yet theirs is even the heavenly kingdom.

* * *

In this little playlet with weeping and fire-quenching, the following characters have appeared:

1. Milic From Macva--knight, painter, ethnographer, Serbologist, and above all a Serb.
2. Dobrica Cosic--writer, chronicler, academician, official, and above all a Serb.
3. Mica Popovic--painter, writer, academician, standby salon dissident, and above all a Serb.
4. Tormented Serbs--mainly focussed on applauding prior to the raising of the curtain at the premiere of [the play] "The Battle of Kolubara" and on bowing in the direction of the works of the painter M. P., which are on semi-permanent exhibition at the Serbian Academy of Sciences; above all, Serbs.

Youth Paper Rebuked

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1730, 26 Feb 84 p 31

[Commentary by Dragan Jovanovic on OMLADINSKE commentary above]

[Excerpt] What is there to say about this text?

That it is tasteless to gloat over anybody's burned-down house? To make fun of the fact that a painter's studio burned down--even if the painter is Milic From Macva?

Rejoicing over somebody else's ("great-Serbian") misfortune is a petty-Serbian trait that certainly helps to stoke the fires of great-Serbian feeling among "ordinary" Serbs. If anybody's stable in Macva had burned down, not Milic's studio, the village would have aroused itself differently. About neighboring houses in a neighborly way, about art with a concept of the artistic, about the rest--the supernatural, the nationalistic, the great-Serbian--in the right way. This way inflames, sets afire.

Rebuker Rebuked

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 84 p 6

["Excerpts" from speech by Spiro Galovic, member of Presidium of Central Committee of Serbia's LC, to secretaries of basic organizations in Belgrade 6 March]

[Excerpt] Kosovo is presumably the best testimony for us that dangers arise, regardless of how lively nationalism is, only when the critical position of society's organized forces is lost in relation to nationalism. From the standpoint of the League of Communists, the problem is not so much this or that manifestation of nationalism as the absence of criticism of such manifestations.

It even happens that criticism is repulsed. A staffer on NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE recently rebuked Gradimir Aleksic, author of a piece in OMLADINSKE, simply because this young person had failed to join in the lamenting over the fire in one of the studios belonging to the painter Milic From Macva. Then how come that staffer did not feel called upon to be at least mildly critical of an article pirnted in PRAVOSLAVLJE of October 1983, trite to say the least, from the pen of that same painter. In that [Serbian Orthodox Church] publication, acting as a heedless propagandist, without any trace of human shame, Milic writes as follows: "The most touching scene occurred when a group of young boys approached the altar before the chalice with communion wafers held by Father Amfilohija, assuming that they would be able to receive communion along with the others even though unbaptized. They addressed words of extreme despair to Father Amfilohija, bewailing: 'We want to be baptized, to be like you.' Tears filled the eyes of many, and the idea occured to one person that the Orthodox Church might conduct mass baptisms, both in churches and in the rivers...."

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END